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CIVIL WAR HISTORY

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Civil War History

A quarterly journal of studies
for all readers who know the
Civil War as the most fasci-
nating period of our history.

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Introduction

WHILE OHIO RANKED AMONG THE first three states in the Union in the number of men furnished for military service in the Civil War, it was perhaps in leadership that Ohio's contribution was most outstanding. The roll of native generals who were entrusted with the planning and execution of the conflict is an impressive one.

The Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, who directed the activities of the War Department between 1862 and 1867, was a native of Steubenville, Ohio. And the foremost leaders on the battlefields—Generals U. S. Grant, W. T. Sherman, James B. McPherson, W. S. Rosecrans, Phil H. Sheridan, Irvin McDowell, George Crook, Don Carlos Buell, Rutherford B. Hayes (to mention a few whose names readily come to mind) were all native sons of the Buckeye state.

In this special issue of *Civil War History*, we center attention, again, upon Ohio and upon some of the things which happened to Ohioans during the course of the terrific and bloody struggle between North and South. As guest editor, I want particularly to thank the contributors for their keen interest and generous co-operation, and the editor, Mr. Walton, for making this Ohio issue possible.

Watt P. Marchman, Director
The Rutherford B. Hayes Library
Guest Editor

*The only publication devoted exclusively to
Abraham Lincoln and his time*

LINCOLN HERALD

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Robert S. Harper, former newspaper man and now public information officer of the Ohio Historical Society, is the author of several books, including Lincoln and the Press. This book won for the author the Sigma Delta Chi national award for research in journalism, the citation of the Lincoln Foundation for "The Best Lincoln Book of the Year," and the grand medal of the Ohioana Library. It was the History Club book-of-the-month choice for August, 1951. He has written extensively on Lincoln and the Civil War for the magazines and is now engaged in writing a TV telementary on the Civil War and another book on Abraham Lincoln.

The Ohio Press in the Civil War

ROBERT S. HARPER

THE UNION WAS FALLING APART. Half a dozen states had seceded, and others were preparing to follow. President Buchanan was accepting the resignations of members of his Democratic Cabinet as they "went south" with the cotton states. Out in Springfield, Abraham Lincoln was packing his trunks and addressing them with his own hand, "A. Lincoln, White House, Washington."

In Columbus, Ohio's capital, an eight-page weekly newspaper called the *Crisis* appeared on the streets. Volume I, Number 1, was largely devoted to an explanation of purpose, signed by the editor, Samuel Medary. The date was January 31, 1861.

In a page one editorial, Medary boldly exposed his purpose in founding the newspaper. After asking himself the question, "Has the South any reason to complain?" he wrote:

"Yes, we think it has, and it is our duty to state it."

But unanswered even today is the reason why he thought it was his "duty" to state the South's real grievances.

He did add, as an afterthought, this tickler: "I have a great many reasons for publishing this paper, as will more clearly appear to my readers as it progresses."

Medary, born in Montgomery Square, Pennsylvania, in 1801, came on the Ohio scene at the age of twenty-six as a school teacher at Batavia, in the river hill-country. He boarded with the Simpson family, whose daughter was Mrs. Jesse R. Grant, mother of a then four-year-old boy, known now to history as Ulysses S. Grant.

More interested in politics than in teaching, Medary established a little weekly paper at Batavia, called it the *Ohio Sun*, and campaigned furiously for Jackson. Two years later he became a member of the Ohio House of Representatives, and two years after that he went to the state Senate. He then bought the weekly *Western Hemisphere* in Columbus, and the paper became the *Ohio Statesman*, the "voice of Democracy" in the capital. He was chairman of the Ohio delegation in the Democratic convention that nominated Polk for President.

As editor of the Democratic "organ" at Columbus, Medary exerted wide political influence, but a pronounced proclivity for indulging in low personalities and bitter invective with any one who disagreed with him made many enemies. For instance, Medary would have had a place in Pierce's Cabinet had not William Allen blocked the appointment.

Medary vainly sought the U.S. senatorship in 1854, but two years later his star began to rise again when he served as temporary chairman of the Democratic National Convention that nominated Buchanan at Cincinnati. President Buchanan appointed him governor of Minnesota Territory and later governor of Kansas Territory, with an interval between in which he was Columbus postmaster. Out of a job in December of 1860, he returned to Columbus and began to plan the *Crisis*.

The *Crisis* was not much of a newspaper in the true sense of the word. It had no news service, either wire or mail. It carried no advertising of any kind, and its only public source of income was yearly subscriptions, two dollars per year. Medary, a prodigious worker, "got out" the paper with scissors, a paste pot, and a pen filled with venom. He was opposed to the war, to Lincoln, and to the Republican Party. He argued that slavery was constitutional and abolition was not. His family did not wholly share his views; he had a son and a son-in-law in the Union Army.

He filled column after column with his own editorial matter, but the body of the paper consisted of stories and editorials clipped from anti-Administration newspapers. His writings were marked by a single characteristic startling even for that day: His was the only newspaper in the North that consistently and purposely referred to members of the Negro race as "niggers."

In his first editorial, Medary attacked Ohio's timid move at preparedness. He ridiculed passage of a bill by the state legislature to raise 6,000 troops. "The sudden anxiety for military parade looks too much like hiding behind the glitter of war to escape detection in refusing amicable adjustment," he wrote.

The first issues were sprinkled with the humor of the times. Among the fillers Medary clipped was one from a western newspaper. In announcing the death of a local citizen, that paper had said the late lamented "was a great admirer of Horace Greeley, but otherwise a very respectable man." Another clipping reported that a young woman had refused to enter an arms factory "because the guns had no breeches." And Medary posed this question: "Why is a young lady examining an apple core like South Carolina?" His answer was: "Because she wishes to see seed."

Little by little, the humor that had lightened the pages began to disappear. Soon it was gone altogether. Medary began to drop in little pieces like this:

"A gentleman of intelligence, who had been up to recently strong for the war, remarked to us the other day that he was satisfied the administration had designs behind the present war hidden yet from the public eye."

First to call the turn on Medary was the Columbus *Ohio State Journal*, a highly respected daily that spoke for the Republican party in the state capital, ably directed by a new editor, Henry D. Cooke. Unfortunately for the paper, Cooke went to Washington early in the war to help his brother, Jay Cooke, with war financing.

The *Crisis*, on February 7, 1861, reprinted from the *Charleston (S.C.) Mercury* a letter purportedly written by Abraham Lincoln to "J. A. Spencer, of Wheeling, Va.," in which the then President-elect was quoted as making preposterous statements on national affairs. The *Wheeling Intelligencer* reported that no such person as "J. A. Spencer" lived there, and the letter was branded as a fraud.

Medary ignored the hoax revelation. Not until the *Ohio State Journal* publicly demanded it did Medary print a retraction. Even then, he claimed to have clipped the letter from "a Lincoln paper," a statement for which the *Mercury*, too, might have demanded an apology.

It had long been the custom in America for an opposition press to keep under constant attack the victorious political party, at the same time extolling the virtues of its own faction. Editors had to be politicians first and newspapermen second, if at all. With the revolt of the South following the election of Abraham Lincoln by a party pledged to halt the further spread of slavery, editors who followed the party line found themselves siding with the Confederacy, a shocking instance of the old saw that politics make strange bedfellows.

Republican editors were alert to this situation and the first shot at Fort Sumter set off a newspaper war that raged all during the conflict. The *Cincinnati Commercial* began to name names by declaring that two outstanding Ohio newspapers were "laboring to place obstacles in the way of the Administration" and that their "sympathies are obviously with the seceders." The *Commercial* named the *Ohio Statesman* and the *Dayton Daily Empire*. The charge proved to be at least half right. The *Empire*,

controlled if not still owned by its former editor, Democratic Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham, worked hand-in-glove throughout the war with the *Crisis*.

The *Cincinnati Gazette*, edited by Richard (*Deacon*) Smith, joined the *Commercial*, edited by George W. Moneypenny, in warning the *Statesman*. The *Gazette* said:

The *Ohio Statesman*, while lacking the courage to attack the government directly for its purpose to put down the rebellion, shows its own treacherous spirit by charging that the administration does not intend to establish the power of the government over the seceded state, but to aggravate the secession movement in order to bring about a separation.

The Democratic *Cincinnati Enquirer*, then a leading newspaper in the Midwest with a wide circulation on both sides of the Ohio River and in Indiana, made its policy plain in an editorial on April 12, saying:

We suppose that there can no longer be any doubt as to the policy of the Administration at Washington: it is the employment of the army and navy to compel the seceded states to return to the Federal Government. Against this policy we have from the first protested. . . .

This brought a blast from the Administration press. The *Cincinnati Times* warned the *Enquirer*:

Be careful, gentlemen of the *Enquirer*, that your fear of shedding treacherous blood, your partisan madness, does not lead you to become an avowed enemy of your country. In this latitude, freedom of speech is most fully protected, but yet it will be dangerous, we think, to attempt the advocacy of open treason.

The *Enquirer*, owned by Washington McLean and James J. Faran, was distinctly anti-Administration. It constantly denounced Lincoln, calling him "the boor of Washington," and similar names, while assailing "the usurpations and the inefficiency" of his administration. There was a distinct tie between the *Enquirer* and the *Crisis* through the friendship of McLean and Medary.

In northeastern Ohio, the *Toledo Blade* charged "a class of newspapers, more numerous than influential," with treasonable utterances. "The common shape of this treason," said the *Blade*, "is that of fault finding and cavilling at the Administration. . . . Another plan is to seek to divide the loyal men by old party prejudices." The *Blade's* nationally read columnist, David R. Locke, who wrote under the name of Petroleum V. Nasby, was a favorite of Lincoln.

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, a Democratic newspaper that backed Douglas for the Party nomination, took a leaf from his book and supported the war effort. It later changed policy and became the northeastern Ohio voice of Vallandigham. The other Cleveland dailies, the *Herald* and the *Leader*, were strongly Republican.

The Democratic *Dayton Empire*, which was anti-Lincoln, antiwar, anti-Union, and anti-Negro, was confronted with a staunch Administration policy followed by the *Dayton Journal*, the Republican party's voice there.

Files of newspapers of the Civil war era reveal that many Democratic editors felt that to support the war to restore the Union was to support the Republican party. In a day when neither party could see an ounce of merit in the other point of view, this situation was baffling to those out of power at the moment, in this instance the Democrats.

A loud-mouthed press faction hostile to the war, bombarding the people with peace propaganda and distorted reports of battlefield conditions, at the same time applying every name printable to the man the people had chosen for their President was bound to cause trouble.

By late summer of 1861, the public began to express indignation at the insults heaped on the Union cause and on President Lincoln by the Democratic press. A sign of public disapproval was seen in a page one editorial of the *Clermont County Sun* (the weekly founded by Samuel Medary) in which the editor charged that his newspaper was marked for destruction because of its alleged secession sympathies. "The Abolition clique has been urging the military necessity" of such action, he wrote.

At midnight on August 22, a mob broke into the office of the *Stark County Democrat* at Canton and left it a shambles. Editor Archibald McGregor's opposition to the war was said to have caused the outbreak. Canton Democrats called a public meeting to demand that the Canton City Council reimburse McGregor for damages. McGregor published an open letter in the *Crisis* in which he said there were fourteen men in "the mob" and that he knew every one of them. He further charged that the leader was an army officer, Lieutenant Edward Meyer, the son of Canton's mayor. The Lieutenant and eight others were taken into custody but were released when "prominent Republicans" came forward with bond money. No further action was ever taken against the nine, but the Canton Council appropriated \$3,000 to repair the newspaper plant.

A slightly ridiculous affair occurred at Marion, where the *Mirror* was published. A crowd of Republicans hanged the paper in effigy in front of its own office on a September evening. Democratic subscribers came in number and put an end to the affair. Down in Jackson county, the editor of the *Jackson Express* was tipped off by a friend that a mob was forming to wreck his office. His Democratic followers quickly formed a cordon around the office, but the mob didn't appear.

The *Bucyrus Forum* was not so lucky; its plant was damaged by what newspaper reports described as an "excited crowd of partisans" on September 8, 1861.

Federal authorities, according to a story published in the *Crisis*, suppressed a newly established weekly newspaper at Cincinnati. Called the *Banner of Reunion*, the weekly was edited by Sabin Hough, described as "a clergyman of Swedenborgian persuasion." Hough published an editorial that said: "There is no need for this war, nor any reason why it should continue. It cannot and will not bring back the states that have withdrawn." Hough was carted off to prison.

The death of Editor John W. Gray on May 26, 1862, brought an about-face in the policy of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Gray, who died from the effects of having been accidentally shot in the eye by his young son with a toy pistol, was succeeded by his nephew, John S. Stephenson, chairman of the Cuyahoga County Democratic Central Committee. Gray supported the war effort and had even accused Vallandigham of playing with treason. He had also supported David Tod, a Democrat who quit the party and was elected governor on the Republican ticket. Under Stephenson, all this was changed. The *Plain Dealer* became the northern Ohio voice for Vallandigham and an advocate of the poison he preached. This abrupt change in policy caused the Republican *Cleveland Leader* to remark: "The dog returns to his vomit." To which the editors of the *Cleveland Herald*, which aided in forming the Republican Party and became its chief advocate in the Western Reserve, may have added a loud "Amen."

Sam Medary's *Crisis* hit the first rock in its stormy voyage in June of 1862 when A. W. Campbell, postmaster at Wheeling, West Virginia, held up distribution of the Columbus weekly in his area. Through his *Crisis*, Medary had attacked the formation of the new state of West Virginia on the grounds that such action was unconstitutional. He refused to use the proper name of the state in his newspaper, referring to it as "western Virginia." He charged that Postmaster Campbell, who also was editor of the *Wheeling Intelligencer*, was "a rabid follower of Old John Brown and should be removed from the office position he now disgraces." A month or so later, Medary was notified that the *Crisis* was barred from the mails in West Virginia "for disloyalty to the government of the United States."

A few months later, the *Wheeling Press*, which circulated in eastern Ohio, was temporarily suppressed by military authorities. A Democratic paper that fenced with Campbell's *Intelligencer*, its offense in this instance was an article on taxation and the national debt, considered harmful to the war effort.

The *Circleville Watchman* was Democratic in politics and violently antiwar in editorial policy. On a Sunday night in late June of 1862, two men banged on the door of Editor John W. Kees, got him out of bed, and informed him that he was under arrest by order of the War Department.

Upon reading the warrant for his arrest, Kees saw that it was signed by C. P. Wolcott, an assistant Secretary of War, and directed to William Scott, provost marshal of Cincinnati.

Kees, fully aware that he was prison bound, asked that his wife be permitted to pack his belongings, but the officers gave him only time to dress before loading him into a carriage for the long ride to Columbus. Upon arrival in the state capital, Kees was taken aboard an early morning east-bound train. He was next heard from in a federal prison, the dreaded "Old Capitol," at Washington, D.C.

Before they left Circleville, the provost marshal had directed that the *Watchman* be suspended for four months. The doors were locked and the keys given to "a trusty person" for safekeeping.

Circleville Democrats raged. They held what was described as "a large enthusiastical" meeting, at which they charged that Kees had been kidnapped and then made plans for a new paper. Nothing came of their kidnap charges, but the new paper was soon a reality. They called it the *Circleville Democrat*.

Two months after he was snatched from his bed, Kees wrote to the editor of the newspaper, saying: "I am once more at liberty, without trial or accusers, and if I shall regain my health, hope to return to Circleville in a few weeks."

Kees did come back, shattered mentally and physically. He was committed to the state asylum in Columbus, where he recovered. Two years later, he took his wife and children to Nevada.

On the night of August 12, 1862, a mob wrecked the office of the *Lebanon Citizen*, a weekly newspaper described by Medary's *Crisis* as "the organ of the Democratic party in Warren County." The editor, A. R. Van Cleaf, was asleep in his room at his boardinghouse when the alarm sounded. He pulled on his trousers and ran to the office to see a crowd of 200 persons break all the windows in the building, upset furniture, and scatter the type in the street.

While his staff was making repairs and trying to collect the type, Van Cleaf published an "Address to the people" in the friendly *Daily Empire* in nearby Dayton. He said the mob had been incited by Dr. James Scott, the editor of the *Western Star*, Lebanon's Republican weekly. Scott, a member of the state legislature, was running for Congress.

Meanwhile, there was some rejoicing among the War Democrats and the Republicans when Thomas L. Young, editor and publisher of the *Shelby County Democrat*, sold the newspaper and joined the Union Army. M. P. Bean, whose *Ohio Messenger* of Freemont had early in the conflict lauded Medary's *Crisis* as "the best paper today for the people published in the country," also took a commission in the Union Army and closed down his weekly for the duration.

One of the sensations of the summer of 1862 in Ohio was the arrest of Dr. Edson B. Olds of Lancaster, a former Democrat congressman, by Provost Marshal Scott of Cincinnati. The warrant charged Olds with "disloyalty, using treasonable language and interfering with enlistment." Olds was next heard from in Fort Lafayette in New York. Said the Republican *Cincinnati Commercial*: "Dr. Edson B. Olds, the traitor, has been arrested and sent to Fort Lafayette. Dr. Olds was the meanest and noisiest of the nest of traitors in Fairfield county."

Screamed *The Crisis*: "Another Constitutional Outrage—Dr. E. B. Olds Kidnapped—The Liberties of the People in Danger." The story beneath these headlines said Olds had been "dragged from bed and the bosom of his family . . . by Wm. Scott and other hired tools of the Lincoln, unscrupulous and despotic administration."

The two Lancaster newspapers, of opposite political faith, traded insults after the arrest. The Democratic *Eagle*, edited by Charles Roland, accused the *Gazette* of having distorted one of Olds's speeches, thus precipitating his arrest. The *Gazette* retorted that Editor Roland himself would soon be arrested by Governor Tod.

As a matter of fact, Tod was at that very moment debating whether he should seize Roland. Tod was angered at the wording of an *Eagle* handbill calling a meeting of Democrats to protest Olds's arrest. He decided to call Roland to the statehouse and have a talk with him. "I desire an interview with you," the Governor wrote Roland on August 29. "Please call upon me Monday morning."

Roland appeared in Columbus at the time fixed. What took place in the meeting between him and the Governor was revealed later in a story in the *Eagle*, headed "Our Interview with Governor Tod."

According to the story, Tod demanded to know whether Roland planned to continue to edit the *Eagle* "in the spirit of the handbills." Roland reported Tod as saying: "If you do, you shall be arrested. I have the backbone to do it!"

With that, the Governor left the room. Roland went home and wrote his story, giving heavy play to the "backbone" angle. The story, spread by the helpful *Crisis* into every Democratic newspaper office in the North, was reprinted until Tod's backbone became a national joke. Someone wrote a jingle about it. This is a sample verse:

Saucy Charles Roland, how dare you
Print the *Eagle* against my will?
Quoth Davey, the king, in a rage, too,
An omen to Charley of ill.
Tody, Tod, Tod, O! Gov'nor Tod,
A stiff backbone has Gov'nor Tod.

The "backbone" interview story ruined Tod's political career. The Republicans passed him by for renomination, a matter of "deep regret" to President Lincoln. When Salmon P. Chase resigned as Secretary of the Treasury, Lincoln offered the post to Tod, who pleaded declining health and refused the offer. Tod lived only four years longer, dying at sixty-three.

Lincoln's preliminary announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation in September of 1862 brought a furious blast from the Peace Democratic newspapers, led by Medary's *Crisis*. "We have at last hit upon the lower round of our national existence," moaned Medary. "Sad is our fate and monstrous the depths to which we are precipitated." When the Proclamation was formally issued on the following New Year's day, Medary flew into a rage and called Lincoln a "half-witted usurper who, in an evil hour, was elected under the forms of the Constitution by a portion of the American people under the whip and spur of a set of fanatical . . . politicians."

Archibald McGregor, whose *Stark County Democrat* was wrecked by a mob in late summer of 1861, had grown bolder in his anti-Administration and anti-war utterances after the Canton City Council paid for the riot damages to his plant. He was sitting in his office on Sunday morning, October 12, 1862, when a file of blue-clad soldiers marched in, led by Provost Marshal Anson Pease of Massillon. The Republican postmaster of Canton, W. K. Miller, was with the party.

Pease told McGregor he was under arrest. "By whose authority?" the editor demanded to know. Postmaster Miller answered, saying that it didn't matter. The soldiers led McGregor from his office through a crowd that had gathered outside, with the editor screaming to them to witness "another instance of Abolition tyranny!"

McGregor was carted off to Camp Mansfield, an army training center. Treated more as a guest than a prisoner, the editor was finally released in November. When he went home, Canton Democrats met him with "demonstrations of great joy."

While he was having a taste of camp life, McGregor's wife took over the editor's chair, and her first editorial was a call to Democrats to stand firm. "Falter not, for our cause is just and conquer we must," she wrote. Medary took up her cry, saying in the *Crisis*:

The whole Republican press is jubilant. What a crew of modern devils these Abolition editors are . . . A noble wife, a true woman, let tyrants blush. Mrs. McGregor, whose husband is in a military prison for no cause whatever but that he is a Democrat is filling her husband's post admirably.

J. F. Bollmeyer, 32-year-old editor of Vandalia's *Dayton Empire*, was on his way to market with an empty basket on his arm the morning of November 1, 1862, when he met Henry M. Brown, a neighbor he had known for years. They quarreled, and Brown shot Bollmeyer to death with

a pistol. That afternoon, a mob stormed the jail where Brown was a prisoner. Police beat off the mob and several arrests were made. Under cover of night, the mob re-formed, this time with two cannon loaded with scraps of iron. Again the jail was stormed and again the police beat off the mob. Four men, members of the mob, were shot.

With the situation now completely out of hand, Mayor W. H. Gillespie appealed to Cincinnati for help. Five companies of soldiers came by special train at midnight and restored order.

Dayton Democrats, calling Bollmeyer a martyr, began to raise funds for a monument in his honor. Then they learned that his widow was penniless, and they gave the money to her. The Democratic Club in nearby Springfield in mass meeting, passed a resolution declaring that Bollmeyer had been "murdered on the streets of Dayton by an Abolitionist because he dared advocate freedom of speech, liberty of the press, and the doctrines of the American Constitution." The slaying, said the resolution was a "natural result of the partisan animosities and vindictive teachings of the Abolition party." Bollmeyer, it said, was the "first victim of Abolition violence."

Medary's *Crisis* charged that Brown hated the *Empire* because of its anti-war policy and had threatened to shoot both Bollmeyer and Vallandigham on sight. The simple truth, it was learned later, was that ill feeling existed between the two men because Brown's son had shot Bollmeyer's dog.

When Brown went on trial for murder a year later, he pleaded self-defense and was acquitted, much to the delight of a cheering crowd that packed the courthouse. The Democratic press raged. The trial was a farce, said the *Cincinnati Enquirer*.

By 1863, the *Crisis* had become the Peace Democrats' clearinghouse for pure antiwar, anti-Lincoln propaganda. Medary was paired with Vallandigham as the unchallenged leaders of the opposition in the Midwest. Both, embittered even further by Vallandigham's defeat for re-election to Congress by Union General Robert C. Schenck of Dayton in the fall of '62, launched fresh and vigorous attacks on the Union cause. Vallandigham, a lame duck, gave his farewell speech in Congress on January 14, 1863. He said the South never could be subdued, so why carry on the war? Slavery, he insisted, must be recognized as an American institution, and it would come out of the war "fifty-fold stronger."

Medary published the speech in its entirety (as he did every word uttered publicly by "Mr. V."—the name he gave his hero) and circulated it all over the country. The *Crisis* now was filled with articles reprinted from every Peace Democrat newspaper in the country, a veritable clip-sheet for antiwar scissiors and paste pot editors.

A heavy snow was falling the night of March 5, 1863, when about 200 men, most of whom were blue-clad soldiers from nearby Camp Chase,

gathered in front of the *Crisis* office at the corner of High and Gay streets in midtown Columbus, only a square from the capitol. The soldiers were armed, the bayonets fixed on their rifles. They formed a circle at the *Crisis* door and threatened death to anyone who interfered with what was about to occur. Other soldiers joined civilians in tearing open the door and breaking into the building.

The office was left in ruins, the windows smashed, furniture and equipment broken up, and the files dumped in the street where a high wind carried them all over midtown. There was no police interference. The mob then made a rush to the *Ohio Statesman* and was trying to break down the door to the pressroom when the police came on the run.

Medary was in Cincinnati, visiting his friend at the *Enquirer*. When he came back to Columbus the next day, a cheering group met him at the railroad station. Men carried him on their shoulders to a waiting carriage. Like a conquering hero he rode up High Street, with men instead of horses in the carriage shafts. Hemmerbach's Brass Band played every step of the way to Broad and High. In his own account of the welcome, published the following week in the *Crisis*, Medary said, "three thousand bold, brave, daring men" met him at the station and "bore us with shouts which rang to the vaults of Heaven upon their shoulders."

Eight days after the newspaper office was mobbed, an attempt was made to burn it by setting a fire at the rear of the building. Neither the mobbing nor the attempted arson interfered with publication of the *Crisis*. Since the paper had no mechanical equipment and no news service wires, it was so conducted that Medary could carry the office in his pockets.

In the edition that followed the fire, Medary charged that the mob had been incited by Andrew Johnson, then military governor of Tennessee and destined to become President upon the death of Abraham Lincoln. Johnson, he said, in company with Joseph A. Wright, former governor of Indiana, had visited Camp Chase two days before the *Crisis* office was wrecked and had delivered a "political harangue" in order to raise enough men for engaging "in the dirty work." This brought a statement from Colonel August V. Kautz, commanding the Second Ohio Cavalry, that his officers had had nothing to do with the affair but that some of his enlisted men had taken part. Four bound volumes of files of the *Crisis* were found in Second Ohio Cavalry barracks and returned to Medary by the Colonel.

The radical Democratic press throughout the country was furious. Wilbur Storey's *Chicago Times*, the leading metropolitan antiwar paper in the Midwest, declared that "in every occurrence [sic] like that at Columbus, a reprisal [sic] should be made." Far away in Placerville, California, the *Herald* thanked God that "no gang or soldiers or Abolitionists are strong enough to effectively stop the expressions and thoughts of American free-men."

Emboldened by the great outcry of the Democratic press in his behalf, Medary stepped down to a far lower rung on the journalistic ladder of respectability. This is the story.

In his March 25, 1863, edition of the *Crisis*, Medary gleefully published a "composition" written by little Sarah Osgood and read aloud by her in her English class. Medary went to great lengths to explain that he had obtained the essay from "some spirited Democratic girls," who gained possession of it in some manner after the teacher reprimanded them for hissing when Sarah read it before the class.

Here is the composition, exactly as it was published in the *Crisis*:

On Thursday night a week ago yesterday about eleven o'clock P.M., a crowd was seen gathering on a corner of one of our principal streets. It was composed mostly of soldiers who were armed with stones and clubs. The object of the gathering was to suppress a paper called the *Crisis*, very popular with the secessionists and a few Democrats. It is edited by one of the lowest contemptible traitors that ever breathed and it is a burning shame that he has not been living before this. For that is, he deserved the fate of all traitors. Of course he was not here then no not he and well it was for his worthless self that he was not. Some called it a mob, and said it was unlawful and an outrage against a peaceful citizen, very likely it was all that and more, and put it all together it was not half enough. They only battered winders and broke open his office and tore up his papers but because they did not do it that is no sign they will not. I wonder how Union men are treated in the South? shot down and every species of torture and cruelty inflicted on their helpless family's. And here because our soldiers will tolerate it no longer and endeavor to put it down one of the curses of the land its editor is styled a blessed martyr and drawn in an old omnibus from the depot to his residence by twenty or thirty half-drunken admirers—I think if Lincoln would put an armed force into these northern states and drive every miserable traitors into their proper place he would do something better than he has yet.

Medary explained that he published the essay in its "original form" and that he offered it as "evidence of the excellent state of learning in our high school." He railed against the teacher and the Columbus Board of Education.

He demanded an apology from the board and obtained it, and published this statement, issued by the board, as proof:

The Board of Education has inquired into facts connected with a composition read in the Intermediate Schools kept in the High School Building and published in the *Crisis*.

The Board is satisfied, from a written statement of the teacher, that she disapproves of the sentiments expressed in the composition alluded to—that it was an act of thoughtlessness, on her part, in permitting it to be read before the school, and deeply regrets having permitted it to be read.

The Board unanimously disapproves the sentiments expressed in the composition, and the failure of the teacher to suppress it. The repetition of such offense will not be tolerated in any teacher.

Medary had reached the peak of his slavery-advocating, Lincoln-hating career. His new enthusiasm at having successfully pilloried a little girl and a defenseless teacher is reflected in the files of his paper.

The "blessed martyr" then publicly donned the emblem of the Copperheads, the name applied to those in the North who opposed the Union cause. He made an official announcement of his action, saying in an editorial: "We acknowledge from a young Democrat of Connecticut the receipt of a Copperhead emblem of liberty, nicely cut from an old cent."

The *Marietta Republican* did not quite live up to its name politically, and in March of 1863 a crowd of angry partisans paid it a visit. The plant was wrecked by what the *Crisis* described as "Abolition Mobites." About that same time, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* was barred from the Military District of the Kanawha (in West Virginia) by the provost marshal of Charleston, Captain J. L. Hill. The indignant *Enquirer* commented that this was a big thing for a little captain to do and that the government would probably make him a major general.

Meanwhile, the *Enquirer* had run into more serious trouble in Indiana, where it had a large circulation. The trouble began at Milford when the women of the town signed a petition to "President Lincoln and General Horatio G. Wright" or "to those in authority whom it may concern" asking that the *Cincinnati Enquirer* be suppressed.

"We firmly believe," said the petition, "that the *Enquirer*, and other papers of the same character, are the chief instigators of all secret rebellion in the North."

Taking no heed of the petition circulated by the Milford women, the *Enquirer* a few days later, published a slurring story that questioned the virtue of soldiers' wives. The *Enquirer*, according to the *Cincinnati Gazette*, said:

... they (meaning the soldiers) come back to find their places filled, their families possibly scattered, their wives perhaps under

the care of some charitable agent of an Aid Society, who has found that there are more ways than one to administer consolation.

The *Gazette* charged the *Enquirer* with making "a long and laborious effort to convince the soldiers that the war is carried on solely to create offices and rich contractors and benefit the negro." The article in question, the *Gazette* continued, "held out to the soldiers in the field the picture of their families neglected in the midst of the fortunes accumulated by the designing supporters of the war at home."

Feeling against the *Enquirer* rose to high pitch in Indianapolis where, on the night of March 16, Colonel A. D. Straight of the 51st Indiana Regiment stood on a street corner and denounced the Cincinnati newspaper while a crowd cheered. The Colonel urged newsboys to stop selling the *Enquirer*. Some of his soldiers met the Cincinnati train bringing the paper to Indianapolis that night. They seized the *Enquirer* bundles and threw them into a creek. An alert reporter for the *Indianapolis State Sentinel* noted that not quite all copies of that edition were destroyed; a newsboy snatched one of the bundles and outran the soldiers.

The Indianapolis agent for the *Enquirer* complained to Major General Henry B. Carrington, in command of the Military District of Indiana. The General paid the agent for the loss suffered, arrested several soldiers, and issued a statement that only by direction of the government could action be taken against a newspaper.

The *Enquirer* offered an explanation a couple of days later. He had not seen the offending article till it appeared as a reprint from the *Enquirer* in the *Nashville* (Tennessee) *Union*, the editor said. "This excuse," observed the *Cincinnati Gazette*, "is exceedingly lame."

The Columbus *Ohio State Journal*, looked upon as the official voice of the Republican party in Ohio, felt that something should be done about the *Enquirer*. "It is our candid opinion," the *Journal* said, "that the *Enquirer* ought not to be allowed to circulate anywhere. It is a paper directly in aid of the rebellion to the extent that it opposes the government and discourages the war. Of this fact there can be no mistake or doubt."

Major General William S. Rosecrans took over military command in strife-torn Missouri in March of 1863. One of his first acts was to ban the circulation of newspapers that he considered harmful to the Union cause. Accordingly, the provost marshal of St. Louis barred the *Crisis*, and seven other newspapers, including the *Chicago Times* and five New York journals.

Medary rose to new heights in denunciation of Abraham Lincoln, who most probably was not aware of the action taken by a district commander. He called the President "a new-fledged political huckster, a hair-brained syncophant, speculating in the sweat and blood of his fellow citizens. . . ."

A few days later, the assistant provost marshal at Fulton, Missouri,

ordered the postmaster there to seize and turn over to him all copies of the *Crisis*, the *Enquirer*, the *Chicago Times*, and the *New York Caucasian* received for delivery. The order to the postmaster read:

"While professing to be loyal to the government, the doctrines promulgated by these sheets are of a character only tending to give aid and comfort to the rebels . . . and to stir up a spirit of discord and opposition."

Under the leadership of Vallandigham, whose treasonable spoutings were spread among the population by the *Crisis* and by a widely read group of Democratic papers only slightly less radical, there developed in the summer of 1863 within the Military Department of the Ohio—comprised of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Illinois—the most violent feeling against the war and the government. While the Union forces, in which 300,000 or more Ohioans were serving, were winning victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, the home front was torn by dissension, climaxed by rioting and bloodshed. Historians agree that the situation had no equal in the North. Resistance to the draft was one of the results of Vallandigham's activities. He headed a widespread conspiracy to obstruct the military; he was commander of the "Sons of Liberty," whose objectives surely had nothing to do with liberty for either the white or the black man. Thousands of Ohioans joined the underground movement. The badge was the copper cent-piece, flaunted openly by some of the more daring "Sons" who gloried in the name Copperhead.

Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, whose military record was ruined by his blunder at bloody Fredericksburg, was the unfortunate choice to head the Ohio Department command. This meant he had the assignment of handling Vallandigham and the challenging situation on the home front.

Burnside knew the secret objectives of the "Sons of Liberty." Government agents had defined them as follows: to aid deserters from the Union army; to circulate disloyal publications (newspapers); to give information to the enemy; to aid Confederate recruiting in Union territory; to furnish the enemy with arms and supplies; to cooperate in Confederate raids and invasions; to destroy government property; to prosecute and impoverish Union men; to assassinate those of special influence or in high authority; and to set up a Northwestern Confederacy.

From his headquarters at Cincinnati, Burnside issued General Order No. 38:

. . . Hereafter all persons found within our lines who commit acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country will be tried as spies or traitors, and if convicted will suffer death . . . The habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy will not be allowed in this Department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once

arrested, with a view to being tried as above stated, or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends. It must be distinctly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this Department. All officers and soldiers are strictly charged with the execution of this order.

The weakness of Burnside's order was seen at once by loyal Union editors: It was more nearly a gag for free speech and freedom of the press than an instrument to subdue the opposition. The wily Vallandigham also saw this and prepared to make capital of it. The peace wing of the Democratic party called a mass meeting at Mt. Vernon, in Knox County, center of an area where the Peace Democrats were flourishing, and announced that Vallandigham was to speak there on May 1. The meeting was given widespread publicity and, according to newspaper reports, thousands of persons stood in a field to hear Vallandigham talk from a stand decorated with butternuts, one of the Peace party emblems. Hundreds wore Copperhead badges and a huge banner raised in the crowd said: "The Copperheads are Coming."

Sitting on the platform with Vallandigham was Democratic Congressman S. S. Cox, formerly editor of the *Ohio Statesman* at Columbus. Also present, in civilian garb, were General Burnside's observers, with notebooks and pencils.

Vallandigham was in top form. He denounced "Lincoln and his minions" and called the war "cruel and unnecessary." The war, he said, was not waged for preservation of the Union but for the purpose of "crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism." He would do all he could, he said, "to defeat the attempts now being made to build up a monarchy upon the ruins of a free government." The people of the Union should know, he repeated, that the war was not for preservation of the Union; it was "a wicked Abolition war," and if those in authority were not curbed, the people would be deprived of their liberties and a monarch established.

He then declared that he was a free man, that he did not ask David Tod, Abraham Lincoln, or Ambrose E. Burnside for the right to speak, that his authority for speaking now was higher than General Order No. 38; it was General Order No. 1, the Constitution of the United States. General Order No. 38, he charged, was "a base usurpation of arbitrary power" for which he had the most supreme contempt; he "despised it, spat upon it, trampled it under his feet."

After the rally, which lasted all day, Vallandigham went back home to Dayton to await arrest, and Burnside's observers took their reports back to Cincinnati. Burnside sent a full company of the 115th Ohio Regiment into Dayton by special train on the night of May 3. The troops arrived about three o'clock in the morning and marched directly to Vallandigham's home. The commanding officer pounded on the door and demanded ad-

mittance. Vallandigham, parading in his night shirt, refused to open the door and yelled "Asa! Asa!" a prearranged signal for a lookout to fire an alarm shot from a rear window. The soldiers broke down the door and rushed in. Vallandigham was placed under arrest and ordered to dress quickly. All over town, fire bells were ringing. A crowd gathered in front of the Vallandigham house.

Vallandigham was taken to the waiting train and on to Cincinnati where he was placed in prison. No one was permitted to see him. He immediately wrote what he called "an address to the Democrats of Ohio" and managed to smuggle it out of prison and into the hands of the press in some manner never determined. Vallandigham wrote, in part:

I am here in military bastille for no other offense than my political opinions, and the defense of them, and of the rights of the people, and of your constitutional liberties. Speeches made in the hearing of thousands of you in denunciation of the usurpations of power, infractions of the Constitution and laws, and of military despotism were the sole cause of my arrest and imprisonment. I am a Democrat—for the Constitution, for the law, for the Union, for liberty—this is by only "crime."

Dayton was in an uproar the morning after the arrest. Vallandigham followers trooped into town all day from the surrounding countryside. The saloons did a land-office business. Peaceful citizens remained in their homes. At nightfall, a mob of hundreds of men gathered around the office of the *Dayton Daily Journal*, a Republican newspaper that defended Lincoln and the Union cause. Armed members of the mob shot out the windows of the building. Blazing torches were thrown inside.

When city firemen responded, the mob wrecked their engines and slashed the hose to ribbons. The fire raged unchecked. Spreading from the *Journal* building, it swept the heart of the city, destroying a half-dozen stores, a livery stable, a meat market, and the office of a church publication.

Dayton city officials, their city at the mercy of wild men, telegraphed to Cincinnati for troops. General Burnside had the city and county under martial law by ten o'clock that night. Firemen repaired their equipment and brought the blaze under control. So many arrests were made that the jails overflowed.

The *Dayton Journal*, edited and published by Lewis Marot, missed only one edition. It appeared on May 7, four pages, eight by twelve inches, printed on a hand press. Marot charged the Dayton city officials with treasonable conduct and cowardice. He reported that mob headquarters were in the office of the *Empire* and that a cannon in front of the *Empire* office had been fired to signal the attack on the *Journal*.

The *Empire*, in its first edition after the Vallandigham arrest, attacked Burnside, who suppressed the paper immediately. William T. Logan, the editor, was taken off to Cincinnati and prison. Copies of the paper that contained the offending editorial sold for half a dollar each. Jonathan Kenny took over the *Empire* for the jailed Logan.

The *Dayton Journal*, using borrowed equipment, continued to appear every day. It was, proudly reported the *Cleveland Herald*, "the same fearless denouncer of treason, the same hater of Copperheads, Butternuts, and incendiaries [sic] who would lay the North in ashes that supremacy of slavery propaganda may be maintained."

Dayton businessmen came to the financial assistance of the *Journal*. Marot was asked to continue as editor, but he declined and went to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*. A committee of Republicans organized a stock company and hired W. D. Bickham, then war correspondent for the *Cincinnati Commercial*, as editor. Bickham, unterrified by the Dayton situation, took over and remained there for thirty-one years.

Two days after he was arrested, Vallandigham went on trial, by order of General Burnside, before a military commission. The defense attorney was George E. Pugh, former Democratic senator from Ohio who had lost his seat in the Lincoln landslide of 1860 and who later ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant-governor of Ohio on the Democratic ticket with Vallandigham. The only witness for Vallandigham was Congressman Cox, who could remember nothing "the old friend of mine," as he called Vallandigham, had said at Mt. Vernon. The verdict, of course, was guilty. Vallandigham tried to force his release by asking for a writ of habeas corpus in the United States Circuit Court on May 11. President Lincoln, closely watching the case, could have blocked this action by suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus through special powers granted to him by Congress. The motion for the writ was, as Lincoln had hoped for, denied by Judge Humphrey H. Leavitt, a lifetime Democrat who had been appointed by President Jackson. The U.S. Supreme Court later refused to review the case.

The military commission's sentence, imprisonment for the duration of the war, was approved by General Burnside and the place of incarceration selected was Fort Warren at Boston.

The controversy that flared in the press all over the country was without parallel in the war. The Democratic press declared that the Vallandigham case proved that Lincoln was endangering the liberties of the people, free speech, and a free press. The Republican administration press felt, on the whole, that Burnside's arrest of Vallandigham was a political error. It was argued in some quarters that Vallandigham should have been tried in a civil court. The Copperhead papers had a field day, the *Crisis* chortling: "Every Republican paper in the city of New York opposes the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham except the *Times*. This speaks volumes."

New York Democrats, meeting at Albany, passed a resolution to "denounce the recent assumption of a military commander to seize and try a citizen of Ohio . . . for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting in criticism of the course of the Administration and in condemnation of the military orders of that general." The resolution also said that "assumption of trial by a military tribunal . . . abrogates . . . the liberty of speech and of the press"

Erastus Corning, New York Democratic congressman and railroad millionaire, sent a copy of the resolution to President Lincoln on May 19. That same day, the President overruled General Burnside on Vallandigham's punishment, directing that he be banished to the South.

Lincoln later wrote a personal reply to Corning, pointing out that Vallandigham was trying to block enlistments and was encouraging desertion. Then he went straight to the heart of the matter: "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts," he asked, "while I must not touch a hair of a wiley agitator who induces him to desert? . . . I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator, and save the boy, is not only constitutional, but, withal, a great mercy."

The state Democratic convention, held in Columbus on June 11, drew a crowd so large that its sessions were held in the open air at the south entrance of the state capital. Unfriendly newspapers admitted that at least 25,000 attended, and the figure is believed to have been nearer 100,000! The "wily agitator" had now become "the champion of free speech and a free press." The convention hailed Vallandigham as a martyr and nominated him for governor.

Meanwhile, Vallandigham had entered the Confederate lines on May 25 and gone to Richmond where he received meager attention. He then sailed to Bermuda and from there went to Canada. From a hideout at Windsor, just across the river from Detroit, he issued a statement accepting the Democratic nomination for governor, saying: "Shall there be free speech, a free press, peaceable assemblages of the people, and a free ballot any longer in Ohio?"

On June 11, the day the Democrats nominated Vallandigham for governor, two Ohio newspapers were barred from the Military Department of Kansas by Major General James G. Blunt. They were the *Crisis* and the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. The *New York World* and the *New York Caucasian* were excluded by the same order. The General directed postmasters to "destroy them without delay" or to be "held accountable for violation of military orders." The postmaster at Leavenworth read the order, grabbed up the papers, and carried them into the street. He set them on fire while explaining to a curious crowd the reason he was burning the mail.

State militia called out by the Governor to help run down Confederate General John H. Morgan in his dash across southern Ohio in July of 1863, failed to catch the daring cavalryman but successfully wrecked the office of the *Jackson Express*, the Democratic weekly first threatened by mob action in the fall of 1861. Telling about the attack after he resumed publication, Editor Bowen deplored the fact that a crowd cheered while the soldiers threw the type into the street.

The home front strife over Vandalia had hardly died down when the Democratic press found new cause for rejoicing from an unexpected quarter. Captain F. W. Hurtt, senior editor and principal owner of the *Ohio State Journal*, on leave for army service, was arrested on July 27, 1863, by an order of General Burnside, charged with irregularity in his accounts and with having appropriated government funds to his own use. Captain Hurtt was an assistant quartermaster of the United States Army, stationed at Cincinnati. Because of military secrecy, only the barest details were available to the press, but they were enough to set off a political bombshell.

Hurtt took a commission in the army in March of 1862, riding off to war on a military saddle presented to him by his staff as a farewell gift. He reported to General William S. Rosecrans, then commanding the Department of the Ohio, and was assigned as a brigade quartermaster.

The news of Hurtt's arrest revived the old Democratic newspaper charge that the war was being waged for the benefit of Republican contractors. The opposition spoke of the case as "the great Hurtt theft at Cincinnati." Democratic papers had been editorially harpooned time and again by the *Journal* and now it was their turn to even the score. The *Crisis* headline was typical: "One of the Proprietors of the Ohio State Journal Arrested for Stealing Government Funds."

Stories carried by the opposition press never failed to mention the *Journal* as "the Lincoln organ." "The *Ohio State Journal*, our readers need not be told," the *Crisis* said, "is the central organ of Republicanism in this state, and has just ordered a purchase of new type. Captain Hurtt is one of the principal proprietors. The mystery of how he raised the wind is thus explained."

Although veiled in secrecy by army officials, the case was kept very much alive by the Democratic press until Sunday morning, December 6, when the *Cincinnati Enquirer* broke the full story. This news best revealed that Captain Hurtt faced four charges, containing seventeen separate specifications. He was accused of "stealing, embezzling, and misappropriating and applying to his own use, money or other property of the United States." He was also accused of supplying the troops stationed at Camp Chase with inferior rations. One of the charges cited accusations

of disloyalty made by the *Journal* against a Captain Dickerson, to whose position Hurtt succeeded when the former was removed.

The *Journal* defended the editor, saying that the story published by "that Copperhead institution known as the *Enquirer*" was a "simple libel." The *Cincinnati Gazette* published for Hurtt a statement addressed to the public, but the paper itself apparently had little faith in Hurtt's innocence, for it also copied, ostensibly from the *Enquirer*, the lengthy recital of charges and specifications.

Hurtt faced a court-martial on February 2, 1864, and was speedily found guilty of almost every accusation made against him. He was dishonorably dismissed from the service.

After Hurtt's conviction, his junior partner in the newspaper, Isaac J. Allen, was named United States consul at Bangkok, Siam (now Thailand). Murat Halstead's *Cincinnati Commercial*, disgusted by the appointment, said in an editorial:

Judging from the article in the *Cincinnati Gazette* of yesterday, on Bangkok, the capital of Siam, to which place Isaac Jackson Allen, editor of the *Ohio State Journal*, has been appointed consul, it would be a locality admirably adapted for a summer residence for Captain F. W. Hurtt, Mr. Allen's partner, a gentleman whose distinguished public services have been dispensed with, with advantages to the country. If Allen insists upon the appointment as representing at once a decree of providence and his country's call, Hurtt might as well go along, and have the *State Journal* issued at Bangkok. It would be about as valuable in American affairs published in Bangkok as in Columbus, and there is no telling what it might do for the Siamese.

Republican papers were displeased when Hurtt continued his association with the *Journal*, and late summer of 1864 found the *Toledo Blade* asking "how long is the name of F. H. Hurtt to remain at the head of the Union paper at the capital of Ohio, a scandal upon the city and the loyal men of the state? It would seem that somebody beside a convicted swindler of the government should control the *Journal*."

In August of 1863, J. G. Doren, of whom the *Cincinnati Enquirer* spoke as "the amiable and gentlemanly editor of the *Brown County Argus*," was painfully beaten by several men. The assault occurred in Ripley Township, reputed to be "the only one in the county where Abolition sentiment prevailed."

About a month later, a mob entered the office of the *Sentinel* at Cadiz, smashed furniture, upset the type cases, and scattered the contents far and wide.

The Union party, consisting of Republicans and all others who supported the war effort, brought forward as their candidate for governor to face Vallandigham a former newspaperman, John Brough of Cleveland. He was the founder, with his brother, Charles, of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*.

The vote that fall was the largest ever cast up to that time in Ohio. The result: Brough 288,372; Vallandigham, 187,492. Soldiers in the field voted 41,467 for Brough to 2,288 for Vallandigham. Democrats carried only eighteen of the eighty-eight counties. President Lincoln, watching the wire all night for the Ohio returns, telegraphed Brough: "Glory to God in the highest. Ohio has saved the Union." But he told his cabinet that the 187,492 Vallandigham votes were "a discredit to the country."

For a time after the Vallandigham defeat there was comparative quiet on the newspaper front, but not for long. Winter brought military activity to a minimum and increased numbers of soldiers home on furlough. The Union blue was prominent in a fresh wave of newspaper destruction.

A group of soldiers sacked the *Mahoning Sentinel*, a Democratic paper published at Youngstown, the night of January 28, 1864. The editor, John M. Webb, published what he called "a diminutive extra" on the press of the *Youngstown Register*, his competitor and political rival, to tell his story. He said somewhat lightly that soldiers threw his type cases through the windows "which they had failed to open." He listed all the damages done to his plant, summarizing: "In short, our office is a wreck."

Youngstown was the home of one-time Governor Tod, and Medary raged at the former member of the Democratic party. His *Crisis* said:

A squad of drunken soldiers, intoxicated and instigated by the Abolitionists of Youngstown, entered and totally destroyed the office of the *Mahoning Sentinel* at Youngstown, Ex-Governor Tod's place of residence. The *Sentinel* refused to join the Abolition party when Tod did, and thereby incurred the undying hatred of that renegade.

Actually, said the *Toledo Commercial*, the so-called "mob" consisted of five soldiers, three of whom had been Democrats when they enlisted in the army!

Editor Roland of the *Lancaster Eagle* defied Governor Tod's order to stop printing treasonable matter in 1862 and was known thereafter as "Saucy Charles." But it was another story in January, of 1864. A group of Union soldiers home on furlough broke into the *Eagle* office. When they emerged some minutes later, the office was a shambles, wrecked from end to end.

About three weeks later, the *Ohio Democratic Press*, a little sheet with a big name, felt the fury of a mob at Wauseon. The paper had temporarily suspended publication, apparently because of lack of support. It had a record of constant opposition to the Administration. Company K of the 38th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, recruited from the Wauseon area, came home on furlough. There is a suspicion that the *Democrat*, which had been especially critical of the war and its purpose, found it convenient to be closed down while the soldiers were in town. Nevertheless, the soldiers broke into the deserted plant on February 18.

In Columbus the *Crisis* noted the event sadly. Its correspondent at Wauseon reported: "the *Press* office is a perfect wreck. Thus we drift along."

About this time, the *Boston Courier*, one of the leading eastern journals extremely critical of the Administration, commented: "The mobbing of the Democratic newspapers has been revived as a pleasant Republican pastime."

Although Vallandigham was still in exile in Windsor, Canada, the *Dayton Daily Empire* continued to speak loudly for him. It was now published by the Hubbard brothers, Thomas and William. The Hubbards took over the *Empire* from Jonathan Kenny, who had held the editor's chair temporarily while William T. Logan was in jail following Vallandigham's arrest. They had previously published the *Logan Gazette*, which supported Vallandigham in 1863 and then folded.

On the last day of February, 1864, about three months after the Hubbards took over, the *Empire* opened an especially violent attack on President Lincoln. The diatribe continued the next day and the next. At noon on March 4, about fifteen soldiers and an officer invaded the composing room of the *Empire*. They upset the type and threw it from the windows. The Hubbards fought with the soldiers and a heating stove was upset. The soldiers threw the stove into the street, but hot coals set the building on fire.

Led by a Captain Badger of the 44th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, the soldiers left the building, and civilians put out the fire. Badger took his men to the Montgomery County Courthouse, and a crowd gathered.

Badger made a short speech in the public square. The *Cincinnati Enquirer*, which charged that Badger was drunk, gave this version of his remarks:

Fellow citizens, by the great God (hiccup) and Resurrector of everybody, I swear (hiccup) I am responsible for all this! And God damn you, I led this whole thing. These men (hiccup) are under my control and I am responsible. God damn you, two hundred veterans, such as we are, are worth one thousand citizens.

There is no line of distinction (hiccup) between the Administration and the Government, and I tell you, by God, if any action is taken against me and my men here, the city of Dayton shall suffer.

After Badger finished, two Dayton men spoke, trying to calm the crowd. Someone yelled that the government was protecting "niggers," and a fight started. Men in the crowd drew pistols from beneath their coats. In a scene of wild rioting, a spectator was killed and two soldiers were wounded. Captain Badger was arrested by the police and taken to jail.

The Dayton provost marshal telegraphed to Cincinnati for help. Major General Samuel P. Heintzelman, who had succeeded General Burnside, sent 300 men by special train. After order was restored, a coroner's jury found that the slain spectator "came to his death by persons unknown." The police surrendered Captain Badger to the army.

The *Empire* appeared the next day, printed from type collected with a broom. It carried both a news story and an editorial about the mobbing. The Hubbards displayed a rare sense of humor with their simple headline, "Another Riot." In the editorial, they charged that Captain Badger had been drunk and that the soldiers, too, had been drinking heavily.

Four days later, March 9, the *Empire* renewed its attack on President Lincoln. An editorial said:

Abraham Lincoln has assaulted the dearest rights of the people in a variety of ways. He has imprisoned, threatened, or banished those public men whose voices were dangerous to the consummation of his purpose. He muzzled the press by the edicts of his Secretary of War. That bond being broken, he allowed his military generals to issue such orders as they please to effectuate the same purpose. Both these methods having failed, he smiles complacently while a few disorderly soldiers, in various parts of the country, instigated and deceived by lying Republican politicians, attempt to destroy the material with which the voice of the people is expressed. Vain hope of tyrants! A thousand presses might be destroyed, yet the voice of the people would still live and seek a thousand new engines to make itself heard If every Democratic press were destroyed tomorrow, every Democrat would be only confirmed in his antagonism to the present administration The rage of Lincoln against the press that is not subservient to his green money is impotent and completely harmless.

Two days later, March 11, the *Empire* published a letter from Valantigham, in which he deplored the loss inflicted on the paper by the mobbing. He offered this cure:

There is, therefore, but one remedy for past and preventative future injuries; and that is, instant, summary and ample reprisals upon the persons and property of the men at home, who, by language and conduct are always exciting these outrages.

The message came from Windsor, where "The Great Unchanged," as the Administration press called him, was still hiding, waiting a chance to slip back into Ohio.

The outbreak at Dayton was followed by the destruction of the *Democrat* at nearby Greenville. Soldiers downtown on Saturday night wrecked the office and threw type every which way. Next door was the law office of William Allen, former Democratic U.S. Senator. Allen, at the start of the war, had denounced the South as rebel, but he turned on Lincoln and joined the Vollandigham camp when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, calling on "every white laboring man in the North who does not want to be swapped off for a free nigger" to vote the Democratic ticket. The soldiers wrecked Allen's office.

From Medary on the *Crisis* came the usual comment: "Republicans incited soldiers to do the job."

Within ten days, the *Somerset Union*, a Democratic weekly, was saved from destruction by the mayor of the town. The incident was precipitated by publication of an especially caustic piece of antiwar propaganda that was circulated throughout the North by left wing Democratic newspapers. The *Somerset* editor clipped the piece from the *Crisis*, which had taken it from the *New York Daily News*. It consisted of six verses and was called, "A Federal Nursery Rhyme." Here are two verses:

Abe in the White House, proclamation writing;
Meade on the Rapidan, afraid to do the fighting;
Seward in the Cabinet, surrounded by his spies;
Halleck with the telegraph, busy forging lies.
Schenck down at Baltimore, doing dirty work;
Butler at Norfolk, as savage as a Turk;
Sprague at Rhode Island, eating apple sass;
Everett at Gettysburg, talking like an ass.

About twenty soldiers home on leave from the front, went to the *Union* office and demanded that the editor publish an apology in an "extra." A quavering assistant told them the editor was "out of town," and that he could do nothing. The soldiers said he must publish the "extra" or they would wreck the place.

The *Somerset* mayor entered the office to try to save the paper and found his own soldier son there. He posted the local home guard company around the building until the excitement died down.

An editorial in the following week's regular edition of the *Union* charged that the soldiers had been drunk and that "Abolition fanatics" had "instigated" their action.

The plant of the *Ohio Messenger* at Fremont was wrecked on the night of April 14, 1864, under unexplained circumstances. The press was shattered with a sledge hammer, ink was splattered all over the place, and scattered type was found the next morning in the street. The editor, M. P. Bean, had closed down his paper early in the war to take a commission in the army. He later resigned and resumed publication of the *Messenger*. Fremont police reported they could find no witnesses of the vandalism. Bean issued a public statement denying that he had wrecked his own paper for political effect. Fremont people recalled, however, that Bean was an admirer of Samuel Medary.

Medary's *Crisis*, emboldened by its triumph over schoolgirl Sarah Os-good and her teacher, grew louder in its denunciation of Lincoln and the war. Medary himself appeared to invite prosecution. Capable of thinking only along partisan lines, he said, after the arrest of Vallandigham, that he did not understand how a Democratic general, Burnside, could have ordered such action. He expressed further amazement when his former friend, Judge Leavitt, also a lifelong Democrat, refused to release Vallandigham on a writ of *habeas corpus*. After that, Judge Leavitt was "the weak-kneed politician" to the *Crisis*. Then in the summer of 1863, after Vallandigham's nomination for governor on the Democratic ticket, the *Crisis* announced that Medary had fallen ill and had gone away for a rest. Three weeks later he confessed in his newspaper that he hadn't been ill at all. Actually, he had been to Canada to see Vallandigham, "the gallant exile" and "noble standard bearer." Medary also said he had been to New York to visit Horatio Seymour, the Democratic governor of that state. While there, he said, he learned that Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, an abolition newspaper, was the "real President of the United States," and that Abraham Lincoln was only Greeley's "subservient tool."

Historians may find it interesting to note that Medary was absent, purportedly with Vallandigham and later with Seymour, also a severe critic of Lincoln, about the time the terrible draft riots raged in New York. Estimates of the slain there ranged as high as a thousand.

Later that year, when Vallandigham was defeated for governor, conservative members of the Democratic party charged that Medary and his *Crisis* were partly to blame. The unexplained source of *Crisis* financing suddenly dried up and Medary was compelled to tell his readers the paper was on the verge of collapse. Since its inception in January of 1861, the *Crisis* had carried no advertising whatsoever. On January 6, 1864, Medary

publicly announced: "We throw ourselves on the generous support of our friends."

Just as the paper was about to fold, Medary attained the political "martyrdom" he sought. This gave the *Crisis* national publicity and a new lease on life. On May 20, 1864, Medary was taken into custody by two United States marshals. They had a warrant showing that Medary had been secretly indicted by a federal grand jury at Cincinnati. The charge was conspiracy against the government. The deputies put Medary aboard a train and took him to Cincinnati where he appeared before Judge Leavitt. The wise old jurist, ignoring the earlier personal attacks made on him by the Copperhead editor, released Medary on recognizance bond.

The Copperhead press was bitter in its denunciation of Medary's indictment, and every paper in the peace wing of the Democratic party poured forth abuse of the Administration, laying the blame directly at Lincoln's door. *Freeman's Journal* of New York called the indictment "outrageous and preposterous." The *New York Daily News* said the charge of conspiracy against Medary would make his friends "laugh in very scorn." The *Philadelphia Age* was of the opinion that Medary had been indicted because he had "dealt many and heavy blows upon the heads of Lincoln, Seward and Stanton." In Syracuse, New York, the *Daily Courier and Union* said Lincoln was behind the charge and called the President "a despot, cruel and unchecked." At Albany, New York, the *Atlas and Argus* said Medary's arrest was "one of those errors into which the administration . . . blunders from its mere want of intelligence and capacity." The *New York Metropolitan Record* lauded Medary as a "brave and indomitable journalist." The *Greensburg* (Pennsylvania) *Argus* called the indictment "ridiculous." The *Patriot*, a Democratic paper at Wellsville, Ohio, laughed at the indictment, saying it was "the richest joke of the season." The *Iowa Courier* declared: "It has always been a mania with Lincoln to arrest American citizens without warrant and to suppress American papers without authority." The *Washington* (Pennsylvania) *Examiner* prophesied that the government would never bring Medary to trial.

This flood of publicity was like a transfusion of new blood into the *Crisis*. Medary hiked his subscription rate from two to three dollars a year.

Midsummer of 1864 brought about the strange situation of all elements of the press—Administration, War Democrat, and Copperhead—agreeing, in the words of the *Ohio Statesman* at Columbus, that a Union general was "a blundering, vicious, odious, rapacious and imbecile tyrant." They referred to Major General David Hunter, a radical Abolitionist who thought the Civil War was waged to free the slaves and finally had to be curbed by Abraham Lincoln's firm hand. The *Statesman* editor, nevertheless, later found himself in jail.

General Hunter, a West Point officer in command of the Department of West Virginia, fled the Shenandoah Valley in one of the most tragic retreats in American history. The retreat also left open the back door to Washington, then being threatened by Confederate Lieutenant General Jubal Early.

Hunter, failing to adhere to the rule that annihilation of the enemy is the soldier's first objective, had gathered up hoards of fugitive slaves as he marched. He extended himself too far, fed his army's rations to camp followers, and thus lost the campaign without fighting a single decisive battle.

One of the first attacks on Hunter was made by Editor Wharton of the *Parkersburg Gazette*, a Union man and a supporter of the Administration from the start of the war. Seeing Hunter's retreating army as it passed through Parkersburg, Wharton said in his *Gazette*:

General Hunter, with his command, has principally passed through our city We have found among them old acquaintances and friends and we are sorry to see so much suffering They are completely worn out and many in the division have died of starvation. Among officers and men, we are sorry to say, a large portion of the suffering is attributed to the neglect and indifference of General Hunter.

Wharton was immediately arrested by General Hunter, the *Gazette* was suppressed and all copies of the offending edition burned. The *Gazette* office was searched and its records destroyed at Hunter's personal direction. Wharton, meanwhile, had been sent to a military prison at Cumberland.

With public indignation seething, Governor Arthur I. Boreman of West Virginia telegraphed Secretary of War Stanton that Wharton must be released at once. The editor was back in Parkersburg that same week.

The *Cincinnati Enquirer* was jubilant, taking the stand that Wharton got just what was coming to him for his "relentless persecution of citizens . . . who differed with him in political sentiment." The *Enquirer* said Wharton was responsible for its suppression and that of the *Crisis* in the "bogus state," meaning newly organized West Virginia.

The *Wheeling Intelligencer*, Postmaster Campbell's newspaper, made the understatement of the occasion when it said that "the arrest of Wharton has stirred up a great deal of feeling among Union men."

The opposition newspaper in Wheeling was the *Daily Register*, edited by Lewis Baker and O. S. Long. Baker was also co-publisher of the *Ohio Statesman* in Columbus. The *Register's* city editor was arrested by Hunter about the time Wharton was seized. He was held in solitary confinement

in the military prison at Wheeling. Then, on July 8, Baker and Long were at their desks when a squad of Union soldiers with fixed bayonets filed into the office. They were in charge of Captain Ewald Over, military commandant at Wheeling. He was accompanied by Lieutenant Henry Knapp, the provost marshal, who read an order from General Hunter for the arrest of the two editors. Baker and Long were taken off to prison and the *Register* was suppressed.

The arrests may have been precipitated by a story in Baker's *Ohio Statesman* that General Hunter had sacked Virginia Military Institute and Washington College and stolen a statue of George Washington, which he brought back to Wheeling. The *Statesman's* opinion of Hunter for such vandalism was that he was a "square-headed imbecile, addle-brained negro maniac," whose stupidity might result in the loss of Washington. No one defended Hunter from this colorful attack on his character nor disputed the fact that Washington was in dire peril.

The *Statesman*, safe in Columbus from Hunter's wrath, said that many of his command had perished in the tragic retreat, that sick and exhausted men were left to die by the road, and that the suffering of the troops was "beyond description." Army rations, said the paper, were fed to Negro camp followers, and ambulances and provision wagons were used to transport "contrabands"—fugitive slaves—instead of military supplies. The *Statesman* also reprinted the nationally circulated story that General Hunter had had two soldiers horsewhipped for offending Negroes.

The *Cincinnati Enquirer* investigated the horsewhipping story and reported in detail a week later: Two sick soldiers who had been unable to keep up with their column in Hunter's retreat took a horse from a Negro and told him to walk with the stragglers. The Negro complained to Hunter and the General had the soldiers tied to a tree and flogged.

Even the *Wheeling Intelligencer* was angered by the suppression of its old enemy. Editor-postmaster Campbell wondered why Hunter seized the *Register* while permitting the *Chicago Times* and the *New York Daily News* to circulate in West Virginia.

President Lincoln, whose patience had been rubbed thin by Hunter's policies, settled the case to the satisfaction of almost everyone. He removed Hunter from military command and gave him leave of absence. Major General Philip H. Sheridan, who succeeded Hunter, soon released Baker, Long, and the *Register's* city editor, William H. Oxtoby. Baker sent word to his Columbus paper that he was free again "until some petty tool of Abraham Africanus sees fit to again attempt to wreak the black malice of a rotten heart upon my personal liberty." Baker had nothing to fear. "Little Phil" was too busy driving the Confederates out of the Shenandoah Valley to wage war on newspaper editors.

Sam Medary, on bond pending trial on charges of conspiracy against the government, continued to spread his propaganda against the Union cause. The *Crisis* editor entered vigorously into the campaign and in August was making a political speech when he collapsed. He was back again at his desk only at intervals.

He greeted with reservation the nomination of General George B. McClellan for President by the Democratic party and was bitter when the General refused to accept the Vallandigham-inspired platform that contained a peace-at-any-price plank. McClellan explained that he could not face his former comrades of the Army of the Potomac if he did so. Medary also noted that McClellan's letter accepting the nomination contained nothing about "an armistice or a cessation of hostilities," and he charged that the Democratic nominee "falls back on the war as commenced by Lincoln and which he then approved and approves still."

Thereupon, Medary took from the *Crisis* editorial page the names of the national Democratic nominees, and this despite the fact that McClellan's running-mate was George H. Pendleton, Medary's wealthy aristocratic friend and supporter at Cincinnati. Medary had not another bridge left to burn behind him.

He fell critically ill in late October and members of the family were summoned. His soldier-son, Lieutenant Charles Medary, somewhere with the Union Army in the East, could not be located. The Medary family appealed directly to Secretary of War Stanton.

Brushing aside red tape, the Secretary of War, whom Medary had so fearfully castigated as one of "the Lincoln tools," found Lieutenant Medary in an army hospital, convalescing from injuries suffered when his horse fell on him. Stanton notified the family that he had granted leave to Charles and was sending him home. Stanton also expressed his sympathy and hope for the editor's recovery.

Medary was dead when Charles, walking on crutches, arrived home November 7, the day before the national election that returned Lincoln to office. Medary's friends said he would have refused to vote had he lived to see the day.

In death, Medary was eulogized by the Democratic press throughout the North. The *San Francisco Press*, one of his admirers, scolded the *Nevada Gazette* for expressing a dissenting opinion, but reprinted the offending editorial. Oddly enough the *Crisis*, months after Medary died, also ran the editorial. The editorial said, in part:

Sam Medary of Columbus, Ohio, is dead—"the Lord reward him according to his works!" . . . He was an accomplished political trickster, one of the vilest scoundrels that ever lived, and

has ruined more young men through his wiles and false doctrines than any other man of his age and country When Sam Medary died, one of the devil's own children went home to his father's house. The old scamp has left many heirs to his infamy, but none so thoroughly corrupt and depraved as himself.

A few days after Medary was buried, John McElsee, editor of the *True Telegraph* at Hamilton, was arrested following his indictment by the grand jury of the Southern District Court of Ohio on four counts of treason. Arraigned before Federal Judge Leavitt at Cincinnati, he was released on bond of \$3,000, posted for him by Alexander Long of Cincinnati, an Ohio Democratic congressman and left wing peace advocate whose antiwar views were even more extreme than those of Vallandigham. Long favored outright national independence and immediate recognition for the South.

The indictment of McElsee purportedly was based on an editorial, published July 21, 1864, that said: "It is our subtle conviction that the war, if protracted, will bring anarchy upon the North, and ultimately some form of despotic government . . . who shall gainsay our right to discuss it fully and freely?"

The attitude of Editor McElsee was in marked contrast to that of his newspaper rival, Minor Millikin, editor of the *Hamilton Intelligencer*. Millikin sold his paper when war came and joined the 1st Ohio Cavalry, rising to the rank of colonel. He was killed at the Battle of Stone's River, and his death there was reported by Whitelaw Reid, his Miami University classmate war correspondent for the *Cincinnati Gazette*.

In the fall of 1864, Daniel Flanagan, editor of the *Mason Democrat*, clipped and reprinted from the *New York Metropolitan Record* an editorial attacking the army draft. Army officials arrested him immediately after the paper appeared. Tried by a military commission at Cincinnati in March of 1865, he drew six months in Fort Delaware.

Flanagan based his futile defense on the fact that he had clipped the editorial from another newspaper. Vainly he cited the fact that Editor John Mullaly of the *Record* had been tried on the same charge and acquitted by a military commission in New York, and that President Lincoln had reviewed and approved the verdict in that case.

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, which joined the Vallandigham parade in 1862 after the death of its War Democrat editor, Joseph W. Gray, reached the peak of opposition to President Lincoln in the campaign of 1864. Calling Lincoln "a dangerous character," the paper published a list of fourteen "reasons why" he should not be given a second term. The list of "reasons" was an anti-war propaganda piece distributed all over the North and used generally by the Democratic left wing press.

The *Plain Dealer* soon found that it, too, had followed the road to ruin behind Vallandigham. Lacking public support, the paper ceased publication on either March 7 or 8, and on March 10 Joseph Gray's widow petitioned the courts to remove Joseph S. Stephenson, Gray's nephew and successor, as administrator of the estate. The suit forced Stephenson, who was chairman of the Cuyahoga County Democratic Central Committee, to resign as editor.

On April 9, a white flag was seen flying over the *Plain Dealer* office. It had been placed there by jokesters. Within the month, the paper was revived under the guidance of William W. Armstrong, a former Ohio secretary of state, who published it as "a Democratic newspaper."

This account of life on the Ohio journalistic front during the Civil War is not complete without a further note on Samuel Medary. He was elected to the Ohio State University Journalism Hall of Fame in 1932. Clement L. Vallandigham, who also dabbled in journalism at one time, has yet to attain this signal honor.

Bibliographical Note

The *Crisis*, a weekly newspaper published at Columbus, Ohio, files from January 31, 1861 through 1865 in the Library of the Ohio Historical Society, Ohio State Museum, Columbus; files of the *Ohio State Journal* [Columbus], *Ohio Statesman* [Columbus], *Cincinnati Enquirer*, *Cincinnati Gazette*, *Cincinnati Commercial*, and *Toledo Blade*, also in the Library of the Ohio Historical Society.

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Ohio Troops in the Field

EDWARD T. DOWNER

THREE OUT OF EVERY FIVE OHIO MEN between the ages of eighteen and forty-five served at various times in the Union Army and Navy during the Civil War. Conservatively, the state furnished a third of a million men to the Northern services. Only New York and Pennsylvania exceeded this number.

The precise number of Ohio men in uniform during the conflict has never been definitely established. The Adjutant General, in a report compiled in 1885, credited Ohio with 313,180 men in the land and naval forces.¹ This figure, however, does not take into account the Ohio troops assigned to the regiments of other states, estimated to have numbered no less than 8,000, and probably more. The Ohio Adjutant General reported an over-all total of 346,326, but this figure included re-enlistments and citizens who paid commutation in lieu of military service.² Whitelaw Reid in his *Ohio in the War*, by using the reports of the Provost-Marshal General, arrived at a figure of 310,654 white land troops to which he would add 5,092 Negro troops and 3,443 additional troops, including those in the gunboat service and "recruits raised in Ohio, but, in the varying exigencies of the department, credited elsewhere." Summarizing these various numbers, he concluded that the army of the state "swelled to the noble proportions of a third of a million men."³

¹ Robert V. Johnson and C. C. Buel (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* . . . (4 vols.; New York: The Century Co., 1887-1888), IV, 767.

² Eugene H. Roseboom, *The Civil War Era, 1850-1873* ("The History of the State of Ohio," Vol. IV; Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1944), 440.

³ Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the War* . . . (2 vols.; Columbus: Eclectic Publishing Co., 1893), II, 4-5.



Feeding troops at Fifth Street Market, in Cincinnati. From Whitelaw Reid's *Ohio in the War* (Moore, Wiltach & Baldwin, Cincinnati, 1868), Volume I, opposite page 192.

Virtually all were volunteers. Altogether, 12,251 were drafted, but of these, only 2,400 were secured for the service.⁴ Many volunteered after being called by the draft, a large number were discharged for various reasons, some fled and were never found.

The first two regiments were organized immediately upon the fall of Fort Sumter. They were drawn from organized military companies in all parts of the state, but particularly in the larger cities, such as the Lafayette Guards of Cincinnati, the Columbus Videttes, and the Cleveland Grays. Following Lincoln's call for 75,000 men, recruiting was organized throughout the state and was continued until the end of the war. Meetings were held in every city, town, and hamlet at which political leaders, prominent citizens, and military heroes, who returned from the front for recruiting purposes, appealed to the patriotic sentiments of their audiences. Moved by these appeals, boys and young men would step forward to enlist amidst the plaudits and tears of relatives and neighbors. A typical recruiting meeting held in the college town of Hiram in August, 1861 was described by an onlooker as follows:

Mr. Garfield, then State Senator, was present and spoke with an earnest eloquence that stirred every heart A few of the students and alumni, living within eight or ten miles of the College, had heard of the meeting and came up to attend it. To these were added the people of the village generally; and so earnest was the feeling that when the meeting dispersed, fifty young men, mostly students, had signed the enlistment roll.⁵

Ohio youths came from farms, mills, mines, colleges, and offices to join the Union Army. Most of them had never been more than a few miles from their boyhood homes. Many had never seen a railroad train. Before the war ended, they were to be found wherever the Union forces moved, from Florida and the Carolina coast to Fort Laramie, Wyoming. They participated in most of the major battles and in hundreds of minor engagements, from Bull Run to Appomattox in the east and from Pea Ridge to the surrender of E. Kirby Smith at New Orleans in the west. Obviously in this brief article it is not possible to treat of all the activities of Ohio troops throughout four years of war. Only their main movements and their participation in critical situations can be considered.

This great Ohio army was organized into 195 full infantry regiments, 13 regiments of cavalry, one regiment of light artillery comprising 12 batteries, also 26 independent light artillery batteries, 10 independent companies of

⁴ Roseboom, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁵ James A. Garfield, F. H. Mason, *The Forty-second, Ohio Infantry* . . . (Cleveland: Cobb, Andrews & Co., 1876), p. 261.

sharp shooters, 2 heavy artillery regiments, a number of independent cavalry squadrons, besides guards and miscellaneous companies and organizations. The infantry included 153 volunteer regiments, of which 121 served for three years or more and 32 for less than one year.⁶ In 1864, 42 National Guard units were mobilized for a term of 100 days. These latter regiments represented Ohio's share of the 85,000 men promised President Lincoln by the governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin at the "war governors' convention" held on April 21, 1864. The hundred-days men performed chiefly garrison and prison duty in Ohio, Maryland, Virginia, and around Washington, although a few fought at Monocacy and with the Army of the James before Petersburg. By virtue of their service, veteran troops were released for combat service in Grant's Wilderness Campaign.

IN THE EAST

Only one-fourth of the Ohio troops served in the eastern theater of the war. Of the 153 volunteer infantry regiments, only 31 were engaged in the major battles of the eastern campaigns.⁷ Of these, only two participated in all of the movements around Richmond from Fredericksburg to Appomattox.⁸ After Gettysburg, eleven Ohio regiments in the Army of the Potomac were transferred to other theaters of action, eight to Chattanooga⁹ and three to South Carolina.¹⁰ Ten regiments were used mostly in West Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley,¹¹ although six became a part of Pope's Army of Virginia and later were with McClellan in the Maryland Campaign of 1862.¹² Two regiments were in South Carolina from January, 1863 until they joined the Army of the James in March, 1864, for operations around Petersburg and Richmond.¹³ Six other Ohio regiments were part of the Army of the Potomac, but not until 1864.¹⁴

On the morning of April 19, 1861, four days after Lincoln's call for 75,000 men, the first two Ohio regiments entrained at Columbus for Washington to help defend the capital.¹⁵ Two months later they marched to Bull Run in the division of Daniel Tyler. They were deployed on the Warrenton Pike near the Stone Bridge but were not seriously engaged. It is reported, how-

⁶ Reid, *op. cit.*, II, 3ff.

⁷ This number does not include those in Sherman's march through the Carolinas or with Schofield in North Carolina in 1865, nor the hundred-days men doing garrison duty around Washington.

⁸ 4th, 8th. Unless otherwise indicated, regimental, artillery, and cavalry designations refer to Ohio units.

⁹ 5th, 7th, 29th, 55th, 61st, 66th, 73rd, 82nd.

¹⁰ 25th, 75th, 107th.

¹¹ 11th, 12th, 23rd, 28th, 30th, 34th, 36th, 87th, 91st, 123rd.

¹² 11th, 12th, 23rd, 28th, 30th, 36th.

¹³ 62nd, 67th.

¹⁴ 60th, 110th, 116th, 122d, 126th, 127th.

¹⁵ 1st, 2d. Enlisted for three-months' service.

ever, that they retired from the field in good order and served as a rear guard for the retreating mob.

Most of the regiments organized in response to the President's April 15 call were rushed to northwestern Virginia at the insistence of Ohio Governor William Dennison, who was desirous of protecting the Ohio border. They formed the major part of the Provisional Army of West Virginia, under George B. McClellan, then in command of the Department of Ohio. During the summer, fall, and winter of 1861, these Ohio recruits learned army discipline, drill, picket duty, bivouacking, maneuvering, marching, and fighting while campaigning in the rugged mountain country of northwestern Virginia. Many of them had not fired a musket until in actual combat.

An Ohio regiment and an Ohio battery participated in the first land engagement of the war at Philippi in Barbour County, West Virginia, on June 3, 1861.¹⁶ Ohio regiments helped to win the victory for McClellan at Rich Mountain and to rout Robert Garnett's forces at Carrick's Ford. Other Ohio companies skirmished with the troops of John B. Floyd and Henry A. Wise along the Kanawha and Gauley rivers, repulsing Floyd at Carnifex Ferry.

This small army in western Virginia gave encouragement and protection to the leaders of the movement to bring about the separation from Virginia of the thirty-four northwestern counties. The army made it possible to elect delegates to the Wheeling Conventions and to carry on the proceedings of the convention, thus insuring the eventual independence of West Virginia. The Army also achieved the first Union victories of the war and attained national prominence in the Northern press. George B. McClellan became a national hero, the "Little Napoleon." Ten days after Carrick's Ford he was called to Washington to command the Army of the Potomac and later to become General-in-Chief.

Following the West Virginia Campaign, a number of the Ohio regiments involved there were moved east to become part of the army along the upper Potomac River under the command of Nathaniel P. Banks. Others were assigned to John C. Frémont, who commanded another army being assembled in the Allegheny Mountains west of the Shenandoah Valley. Both commands were augmented by additional Ohio regiments sent directly from the state. Some of them skirmished with the troops of Stonewall Jackson during the winter of 1861-1862.

Although badly needed by McClellan in his Peninsular Campaign against Richmond, the troops under Banks and Frémont were tied down by the masterly maneuvers of Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley during the spring of 1862. The Ohio troops in the Shenandoah Valley, under Frémont, Banks, and James Shields suffered one defeat after another, at McDowell, Winchester, Cross Keys, and Port Republic, chiefly on account

¹⁶ 14th; 1st Light Art.

sharp shooters, 2 heavy artillery regiments, a number of independent cavalry squadrons, besides guards and miscellaneous companies and organizations. The infantry included 153 volunteer regiments, of which 121 served for three years or more and 32 for less than one year.⁶ In 1864, 42 National Guard units were mobilized for a term of 100 days. These latter regiments represented Ohio's share of the 85,000 men promised President Lincoln by the governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin at the "war governors' convention" held on April 21, 1864. The hundred-days men performed chiefly garrison and prison duty in Ohio, Maryland, Virginia, and around Washington, although a few fought at Monocacy and with the Army of the James before Petersburg. By virtue of their service, veteran troops were released for combat service in Grant's Wilderness Campaign.

IN THE EAST

Only one-fourth of the Ohio troops served in the eastern theater of the war. Of the 153 volunteer infantry regiments, only 31 were engaged in the major battles of the eastern campaigns.⁷ Of these, only two participated in all of the movements around Richmond from Fredericksburg to Appomattox.⁸ After Gettysburg, eleven Ohio regiments in the Army of the Potomac were transferred to other theaters of action, eight to Chattanooga⁹ and three to South Carolina.¹⁰ Ten regiments were used mostly in West Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley,¹¹ although six became a part of Pope's Army of Virginia and later were with McClellan in the Maryland Campaign of 1862.¹² Two regiments were in South Carolina from January, 1863 until they joined the Army of the James in March, 1864, for operations around Petersburg and Richmond.¹³ Six other Ohio regiments were part of the Army of the Potomac, but not until 1864.¹⁴

On the morning of April 19, 1861, four days after Lincoln's call for 75,000 men, the first two Ohio regiments entrained at Columbus for Washington to help defend the capital.¹⁵ Two months later they marched to Bull Run in the division of Daniel Tyler. They were deployed on the Warrenton Pike near the Stone Bridge but were not seriously engaged. It is reported, how-

⁶ Reid, *op. cit.*, II, 3ff.

⁷ This number does not include those in Sherman's march through the Carolinas or with Schofield in North Carolina in 1865, nor the hundred-days men doing garrison duty around Washington.

⁸ 4th, 8th. Unless otherwise indicated, regimental, artillery, and cavalry designations refer to Ohio units.

⁹ 5th, 7th, 29th, 55th, 61st, 66th, 73rd, 82nd.

¹⁰ 25th, 75th, 107th.

¹¹ 11th, 12th, 23rd, 28th, 30th, 34th, 36th, 87th, 91st, 123rd.

¹² 11th, 12th, 23rd, 28th, 30th, 36th.

¹³ 62nd, 67th.

¹⁴ 60th, 110th, 116th, 122d, 126th, 127th.

¹⁵ 1st, 2d. Enlisted for three-months' service.

ever, that they retired from the field in good order and served as a rear guard for the retreating mob.

Most of the regiments organized in response to the President's April 15 call were rushed to northwestern Virginia at the insistence of Ohio Governor William Dennison, who was desirous of protecting the Ohio border. They formed the major part of the Provisional Army of West Virginia, under George B. McClellan, then in command of the Department of Ohio. During the summer, fall, and winter of 1861, these Ohio recruits learned army discipline, drill, picket duty, bivouacking, maneuvering, marching, and fighting while campaigning in the rugged mountain country of northwestern Virginia. Many of them had not fired a musket until in actual combat.

An Ohio regiment and an Ohio battery participated in the first land engagement of the war at Philippi in Barbour County, West Virginia, on June 3, 1861.¹⁶ Ohio regiments helped to win the victory for McClellan at Rich Mountain and to rout Robert Garnett's forces at Carrick's Ford. Other Ohio companies skirmished with the troops of John B. Floyd and Henry A. Wise along the Kanawha and Gauley rivers, repulsing Floyd at Carnifex Ferry.

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¹⁶ 14th; 1st Light Art.

of amateur generalship and interference from Washington. The inexperienced civilian generals of the Union troops were no match for the military genius, Thomas Jonathan Jackson.

Although hopelessly outmaneuvered at every turn, the Ohio boys earned a share of glory in the Shenandoah Campaign. At Kernstown on March 23, 1862, they successfully checked the first flanking movement attempted by Jackson in the war. Leaving only his cavalry and one brigade to hold the front, Jackson marched the main body of his forces to the left through high wooded country. His purpose was to reach the right and rear of the Union line, a daring stroke which might have succeeded had not a brigade under Erastus B. Tyler, fur merchant from Ravenna, Ohio, been rushed to meet this unexpected attack on the right. Tyler's brigade, which included two Ohio regiments, fought furiously for an hour and a half with Jackson's men, struggling over stone walls in hand-to-hand encounters.¹⁷ With the timely support of two additional brigades they were able to overwhelm Jackson's greatly inferior numbers, and when night came the Confederate General was forced to withdraw from the field. Four Ohio regiments were among the brigades which hurried to Tyler's assistance.¹⁸

At Port Republic on June 9, 1862, Ohio troops again rendered conspicuous service. Here they repulsed repeated assaults by Jackson's best brigades, including the famous Stonewall Brigade, and although outnumbered nearly two to one, they held the line in five hours of desperate fighting. Jackson had opened an attack at sunrise with the expectation of quickly demolishing the forces of James Shields, which were strung out along the road from Luray. In position to resist this assault were but two brigades—not more than 3000 men—again commanded by Tyler. One brigade consisted entirely of Ohio men: four infantry regiments, two batteries, and a detachment of cavalry.¹⁹

The battle was gallantly fought by both sides. Realizing the futility of further resistance against Jackson's entire army, Tyler finally ordered a retreat, which was carried out in good order. In reporting on the battle, Jackson commented that he found "the resistance more obstinate than I anticipated."²⁰ G. F. R. Henderson, his biographer, observed, "In the sturdy battalions of Ohio and West Virginia the Stonewall Brigade was face to face with foemen worthy of their steel."²¹

¹⁷ 7th, 29th.

¹⁸ 5th, 8th, 62nd, 67th.

¹⁹ Third Brigade: 5th, 7th, 29th, 66th; 1st Light Art., Batteries H and L; 1st Cav.

²⁰ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: 1880-1901), Ser. I, pt. 1, p. 715; hereinafter cited as *O.R.*, followed by the series number in roman numerals, the volume number in arabic, the part number (if any), and the page, as *O.R.*, I, 12, pt. 1, p. 715.

²¹ G.F.R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War*. (2 vols.; London & New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1927), I, 380.

The Army of Virginia, organized in the summer of 1862 under the command of John Pope, consisted of the Union forces in the Shenandoah Valley and in the region of the Rappahannock. The Ohio regiments which had been serving under Banks, Frémont, and Irvin McDowell were incorporated in the new army. Most of them were assigned either to the corps of Franz Sigel, the German "Forty-eighter," who had superseded Frémont, or that of Nathaniel P. Banks. Soon after their reassignment, four Ohio regiments suffered heavy losses in the Battle of Cedar Mountain;²² one opened the conflict with a charge against the brigades of Jubal Early.²³

At Second Manassas, or Bull Run, the Ohio troops engaged in the battle were in Sigel's corps. On the morning of August 29, 1862, they joined in the unsuccessful charges against Jackson's position along the railroad cut north of the Warrenton Pike. On the afternoon of August 30, an Ohio brigade rendered signal service against the forces of Longstreet which poured in upon the Union left flank.²⁴ This brigade, in the division of Robert C. Schenk, was commanded by Nathaniel (Ned) C. McLean, Cincinnati lawyer. Upon the repulse of Fitz John Porter's corps, Schenck's division was moved to the south of the turnpike, where McLean's brigade was sent to hold Bald Hill, a strategic rise of land about a mile southwest of Henry House Hill. With obstinate and heroic resistance they held this position until sunset, repulsing the powerful assaults by Hood's Texans of George Evans' division. Overwhelmed by superior forces and with support on both sides withdrawn, they drew back their decimated lines to the woods in the rear, with a loss of 434 men.²⁵ One regiment sent in 310 men and brought out 166; the colors of another regiment had been riddled by over ninety bullets.²⁶ Military historians stress the significance of the protracted struggle for Bald Hill, which delayed Longstreet's advance. The resistance at Bald Hill and later at Henry House saved Pope's army from another Bull Run disaster.

Altogether, eleven infantry regiments, two batteries, and a cavalry troop marched with McClellan to Frederick City, Maryland, in pursuit of Lee in September, 1862.²⁷ Three Ohio regiments and a battery were among Dixon Miles's troops that surrendered to Stonewall Jackson at Harper's Ferry on September 15.²⁸ Two days earlier, Thomas H. Ford, an Ohio colonel commanding a brigade, had abandoned Maryland Heights, the key position in the defense of Harper's Ferry, with only slight resistance.

²² 5th, 7th, 29th, 60th.

²³ 7th.

²⁴ 25th, 55th, 73rd, 75th; 1st Light Art., Battery K.

²⁵ O.R., I, 12, pt. 2, p. 250.

²⁶ 73rd.

²⁷ 5th, 7th, 8th, 11th, 12th, 23rd, 28th, 29th, 30th, 36th, 60th.

²⁸ 32nd, 60th 87th.

Buckeye troops commenced the Union assault against the forces of Daniel Harvey Hill at South Mountain early in the morning of September 14. Two brigades, consisting entirely of Ohio regiments in the Kanawha Division under the command of Jacob D. Cox, later governor of Ohio, seized the crest of the mountain south of Hagerstown Road and charged up the slopes under a galling fire of cannister and musketry.²⁹ In command of the leading regiment was a future President of the United States, Rutherford B. Hayes, who, despite a severely shattered arm, insisted on remaining with his regiment.³⁰

In the Battle of Antietam, three Ohio regiments were part of Joseph K. Mansfield's Twelfth Corps, in the deadly struggle about the Dunker Church.³¹ Another Ohio regiment was in William H. French's division at "Bloody Lane."³² Most of the Ohio troops, however, were in Ambrose Burnside's Ninth Corps on the Union left.³³ Belatedly, they succeeded in capturing the bridge across Antietam Creek.³⁴ Crossing the creek, they drove the brigade of Robert Toombs from the hills on the west side, advanced nearly to the town of Sharpsburg, and threatened the rear of the Confederate lines. The action probably would have been decisive for the outcome of the whole conflict but for the timely and dramatic arrival of A. P. Hill's light division from Harper's Ferry. These were the last 3,000 men available to Lee, who threw them against the Union left wing, checking its advance and driving it back to the creek. Ohio casualties at Antietam totaled 520 out of ten regiments engaged.³⁵

After Antietam, the Ohio troops in the Kanawha Division returned to West Virginia, leaving only two regiments and two batteries in the army Burnside was to lead to Fredericksburg.³⁶ As a part of the Second Army Corps, the two regiments under Darius Couch constituted the advance skirmishers for the multitudes that were destined to be slaughtered on the slopes of Marye's Heights. At noon on December 13, 1862, they marched out Hanover and Princess Ann streets in Fredericksburg. Upon reaching the outskirts of the town they deployed, and, struggling over ditches and fences, approached the enemy position on the heights. A storm of shot and shell came from the hilltop and over the stone wall at the Sunken Road. The men dropped down to seek some protection from the devastating blasts,

²⁹ 11th, 12th, 23rd, 28th, 30th, 36th; 1st Light Art., Battery L; 3d Independent Cav. Co.

³⁰ 23rd. Report of Jacob D. Cox, *O.R.*, I, 19, pt. 1, pp. 458-460.

³¹ 5th, 7th, 66th.

³² 8th.

³³ 11th, 12th, 23rd, 28th, 30th, 36th; 1st Independent Battery.

³⁴ Since known as Burnside's Bridge.

³⁵ *O.R.*, I, 19, pt. 1, pp. 189-200.

³⁶ 4th, 8th.

and lay helpless for four hours amidst blood and agony on all sides. One regiment had sacrificed 40 per cent of its officers and men in this hopeless and stupid assault.³⁷

Of the thirteen Ohio regiments at Chancellorsville,³⁸ seven were in the ill-fated and unlucky Eleventh Army Corps of O. O. Howard.³⁹ Moreover, four of these were a part of the First Division of that corps, which, on May 2, 1863, occupied the far right of Hooker's army and were, therefore, the hapless victims of one of the most audacious and perfectly executed strokes of the entire war—Stonewall Jackson's famous flanking march across the entire front of the Union Army.⁴⁰ Despite the efforts of Union officers to warn division, corps, and army headquarters that the enemy was concentrating on the right, they were left "in air," ill prepared for an attack from that direction.⁴¹ Nine thousand men, with their only support two miles away, were surprised, flanked on both sides, and overwhelmed by Jackson's 26,000 veterans, who dashed without warning out of the wilderness. Many fled in panic, but the casualty reports of the Eleventh Corps seem to indicate that they put up a brave resistance in an appalling situation. The four Ohio regiments in the First Division lost 578 officers and men, of whom 350 were killed or wounded;⁴² one regiment lost 40 per cent of those engaged.⁴³ At any rate, the Eleventh Corps furnished almost the only resistance Jackson encountered from six o'clock when he ordered the attack until nine o'clock when he was mortally wounded.

The affair was graphically described in the Northern press as a disgraceful stampede. Officers and men of the Eleventh Corps lived throughout the war under the obloquy of the Chancellorsville disaster. The wearers of the crescent, the corps insignia, were constantly subjected to sneers and derision from both soldiers and civilians alike.

Of the other Ohio regiments, two were in the Second Corps under Darius Couch⁴⁴ and four in Henry W. Slocum's Twelfth Corps.⁴⁵ The latter were in the brigade, commanded by Charles Candy, that opposed the forces of Richard Anderson on the Plank Road south of the Chancellor House. Re-

³⁷ 4th. William Kepler, *History of the . . . Fourth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry in the War for the Union* (Cleveland: Leader Printing Co., 1886), p. 95.

³⁸ 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 16th, 25th, 29th, 55th, 66th, 73rd, 75th, 82nd, 107th; 1st Light Art., Batteries H, K, L.

³⁹ 16th, 25th, 55th, 73rd, 75th, 92nd, 107th.

⁴⁰ 25th, 55th, 75th, 107th.

⁴¹ Augustus Choate Hamlin, *The Battle of Chancellorsville* (Bangor, Me.: The Author, 1896), pp. 55-63.

⁴² O.R., I, 25, pt. 1, p. 182.

⁴³ Hartwell Osborn, et al., *Trials and Triumphs; The Record of the Fifty-fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1904), p. 74.

⁴⁴ 4th, 8th.

⁴⁵ 5th, 7th, 29th, 66th.

porting on the fighting of Sunday, May 3, their division commander, John W. Geary, wrote, "Candy's brigade seemed animated by a desire to contest single-handed the possession of the field . . . their coolness and courage was conspicuous on this occasion."⁴⁶ The losses of the four regiments amounted to 326 killed, wounded and missing.⁴⁷

An estimated five to six thousand Ohio men were among the ninety-odd thousand Union troops which converged at Gettysburg late in June, 1863. The Buckeye State was represented by thirteen infantry regiments, a cavalry regiment, and six batteries, of which three were attached to the cavalry corps.⁴⁸

Seven Ohio regiments were in the Eleventh Army Corps.⁴⁹ Five of these regiments and two batteries were positioned on an attenuated line north of Gettysburg extending east from the Mummasburg Road to the Rock Creek Bridge on the Harrisburg Road.⁵⁰ During the afternoon of the first day of the battle, only two divisions were sent to defend this mile-long line with both flanks exposed. Pouring in upon them from the northeast came the massed divisions of Richard Ewell's corps, driving back the Union divisions with heavy losses. The Ohio regiments retreated through the town but reached Cemetery Hill, which they held during the battle. The five regiments lost a total of 816 men, practically all of them on the first day.⁵¹ The other two Ohio regiments in the Eleventh Corps had been marched directly to Cemetery Hill.⁵²

Ohio troops were active on the second day at Gettysburg in repelling Lee's efforts against the Union right on East Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill. At sundown, Jubal Early's brigades commanded by Harry T. Hays and Isaac E. Avery made their assault on East Cemetery Hill. Hays's brigade of Louisiana "Tigers" reached the crest of the hill and was in the midst of the Union guns. The Eleventh Corps, defending the position, was in dire difficulty. A general *mélée* of hand-to-hand encounters was in progress when Samuel Carroll's brigade from the Second Corps reached the scene.⁵³ This brigade, containing an Ohio regiment,⁵⁴ unasked and without guides, had marched through the darkness toward the sound of the guns from their position near the Taneytown Road. Their arrival inspired the demoralized infantrymen and the artillerymen, and after two hours of desperate night fighting the Southerners sullenly retreated from the hill.

⁴⁶ John Geary's report, *O. R.*, I, 25, pt. 1, pp. 727-733; quotation from p. 731.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴⁸ 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 15th, 25th, 29th, 55th, 61st, 66th, 73rd, 82nd, 107th; 1st Light Art., Batteries A, C, H, I, K, L.; 6th Cav.

⁴⁹ 15th, 25th, 55th, 61st, 73rd, 82d, 107th; 1st Light Art., Batteries I, K.

⁵⁰ 15th, 25th, 61st, 82nd, 107th; 1st Light Art., Batteries I, K.

⁵¹ *O. R.*, I, 27, pt. 1, pp. 173-187.

⁵² 55th, 73rd.

⁵³ Kepler, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-129.

⁵⁴ 4th.

Almost simultaneously with the action on Cemetery Hill, the Confederate division under Edward Johnson began its attempt against Culp's Hill in an effort to gain possession of the Baltimore Pike. The defense of the position fell upon the division of John Geary, which contained four Ohio regiments.⁵⁵ Having captured some of the Union trenches in the evening, Johnson resumed the attack in the morning of July 3. In his report, Geary described the severity of the fighting on this day:

With great gallantry our troops sustained for seven hours and a half a battle fraught with persistent and obstinate effort and unrelenting fire of an intensity seldom prolonged beyond a limited period, and where desperation and dash is necessary to carry a point.

Johnson's last charge was finally repulsed and the Union "troops rushed forward with wild cheers of victory, driving the rebels in confusion over the intrenchments."⁵⁶

Elsewhere on the third day of the battle, only one Ohio regiment saw much action.⁵⁷ This regiment was in Alexander Hays' division near Ziegler's Grove. For twenty-four hours they held this position, suffering from enemy pickets, sharpshooters, and artillery. Finally, they saw George E. Pickett's heavy columns advancing toward them. As the gray line approached to within one hundred yards, Hays' four lines rose from behind the stone wall and with one devastating volley threw dismay into the ranks of John Pettigrew's green troops.

Ohio casualties at Gettysburg were 139 killed, 769 wounded, and 363 captured and missing, totaling 1271, slightly more than 5 per cent of the total losses among the Union troops engaged.⁵⁸

In Grant's army which crossed the Rapidan to move into the Wilderness on the evening of May 3, 1864, Ohio was represented only by six infantry regiments, two cavalry regiments, one artillery battery, and two companies of sharpshooters—not more than 2,500 men in a mammoth army of 118,000.⁵⁹ One of the infantry regiments served in the Ninth Army Corps of Ambrose Burnside,⁶⁰ two were in Winfield Scott Hancock's Second Corps,⁶¹ and three in John Sedgwick's Sixth Corps.⁶² Thus at the Battle of the Wilderness

⁵⁵ 5th, 7th, 29th, 60th.

⁵⁶ O.R., *op. cit.*, pp. 824-835; quotation from p. 830.

⁵⁷ 8th.

⁵⁸ O.R., I, 27, pt. 1, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-187.

⁵⁹ 4th, 8th, 60th, 110th, 122nd, 126th; 2nd, 6th Cav.; 1st Light Art., Battery H; 9th, 10th Cos. of Sharpshooters.

⁶⁰ 60th.

⁶¹ 4th, 8th.

⁶² 110th, 122d, 126th.

two Ohio infantry regiments were on the left of the Union line and three others were on the extreme right.

Early in the morning of the second day of the battle, May 6, Hancock's troops charged the brigades of A. P. Hill's corps, advancing along the Plank Road to the Widow Tapp farm.⁶³ With the arrival and counter-attack of Longstreet's corps, the Ohioans retreated with the rest of Hancock's men to the log breastworks along the Brock Road. At four o'clock in the afternoon, Richard Anderson's division attacked the breastworks, then on fire. Amidst the smoke and flames, they threatened to break the Union lines. Samuel Carroll's brigade, occupying the second line in the Union defenses, included the two Ohio regiments. In his account of the battle, Alexander J. Webb wrote, "Anderson's division came forward and took possession of our line of intrenchments, but Carroll's brigade was at hand and drove them out at a double-quick."⁶⁴ A breakthrough at that time and point, in the opinion of military experts, would have rolled up the entire Union left wing. With what was about to take place on the right of the line, it could have spelled disaster for Grant's army.

The right of the Union line was held by the Sixth Corps, whose own right lay east of the Germanna Plank Road about a mile north of Grant's headquarters on the Lacy farm. Of the two brigades on this flank, one was that of Truman Seymour, which included three Ohio regiments.⁶⁵ Confederate General John B. Gordon had discovered this flank "in the air," and about sunset, on orders from Lee himself, Gordon's troops struck these two brigades in flank and rear. The surprise was complete, and the right brigade was driven back into Seymour's lines. Both brigades retreated in confusion but were not destroyed. A part stood fast, other troops were rushed to their assistance, darkness fell, Gordon withdrew, and the Battle of the Wilderness came to a close. The loss to the three Ohio regiments in this action amounted to 533 men.⁶⁶ While Ohio had only a few regiments at the Wilderness, they were heavily engaged at two of the most critical points on the field.

All of the Ohio troops in the Wilderness battle also took part in Grant's movements to Spotsylvania, the North Anna River, Cold Harbor, and in the effort to seize Petersburg. Two regiments were in the bitter twenty-hour struggle at Spotsylvania's "Bloody Angle."⁶⁷ All suffered in the costly frontal assault on Lee's entrenchments at Cold Harbor. Two marched with Hancock and were engaged in the attempt to break Beauregard's lines at Petersburg.⁶⁸ Ohio casualties from the Rapidan to the James River

⁶³ 4th, 8th.

⁶⁴ B. & L., *op. cit.*, IV, 157.

⁶⁵ 110th, 122nd, 126th.

⁶⁶ O.R., I, 36, pt. 1, p. 127.

⁶⁷ 4th, 8th.

⁶⁸ 4th, 8th.

amounted to 160 killed, 842 wounded, and 190 captured or missing: an aggregate of 1192, heavy losses considering the small number of men engaged.⁶⁹ One regiment had lost 298 men in forty days of almost continuous fighting.⁷⁰

The same troops participated at one time or another in the skirmishing, picketing, entrenching, maneuvering, and fighting south of Petersburg during the fall and winter of 1864-1865. In addition, four regiments from Ohio were in the Army of the James during the operations at Richmond and Petersburg.⁷¹ An Ohio regiment and a dismounted cavalry unit suffered heavily in the bungled charge at the "Crater."⁷² Three Ohio cavalry regiments were with Sheridan at Dinwiddie and Five Forks.⁷³ On the morning of April 2, 1865, eight Ohio regiments were in the final assault which crushed the Confederate lines,⁷⁴ three of them charging against the heroic defense at Fort Gregg, the last Confederate stronghold at Petersburg.⁷⁵

All of these Ohio troops pursued Lee to Appomattox and were either near to or present at the surrender. One regiment was there as prisoners of war, having been captured at High Bridge.⁷⁶ An Ohio cavalry regiment opened the final engagement on the morning of April 9, 1865.⁷⁷

IN THE WEST

The futility of keeping the state of Kentucky neutral in a national upheaval became evident in the fall of 1861 when the struggle for control of the state began. Many Ohio regiments, together with those from other adjacent states, were rushed to Kentucky to oppose Confederate invasions from western, central, and eastern Tennessee. In January, 1862, James A. Garfield's brigade, which included two Ohio regiments and a cavalry squadron, advanced up the Big Sandy River and succeeded in checking an invasion from southwestern Virginia.⁷⁸ Within a few days after leaving their barracks at Columbus, Ohio, these Ohio boys found themselves marching and bivouacking in the wintry wilds of eastern Kentucky.

At the same time, a division under George H. Thomas moved against the forces of Felix Zollicoffer that had crossed Cumberland Gap. With Thomas were five Ohio regiments and three batteries.⁷⁹ They won a deci-

⁶⁹ O.R., *op. cit.*, pp. 119-88.

⁷⁰ 126th.

⁷¹ 62d, 67th, 110th, 123d.

⁷² 60th; 13th Cav.; 9th and 10th Cos. Sharpshooters.

⁷³ 2d, 6th; 13th Cav.

⁷⁴ 60th, 62nd, 67th, 110th, 112th, 116th, 123rd, 126th.

⁷⁵ 62nd, 67th, 116th.

⁷⁶ 123d.

⁷⁷ 6th Cav.

⁷⁸ 40th, 42nd; McLaughlin's squadron of cavalry.

⁷⁹ 9th, 14th, 17th, 31st, 38th; 1st, Art., Batteries B, C; 9th Independent Battery.

sive victory at Mills Spring, or Fishing Creek, which was of great psychological value to the people of the North, for it was the first significant Northern victory after the Bull Run disaster. The action which brought success to Union arms was a flanking bayonet charge, gallantly executed by an Ohio regiment composed of German-Americans recruited from the Turnverein of Cincinnati.⁸⁰ These troops practiced Prussian manuals and drills, and their orders were issued in "undefiled high Dutch."

A number of Ohio regiments were sent directly to Grant at Fort Donelson and participated in its capture on February 15, 1862.⁸¹ Others were sent to Missouri, were brigaded together, and played a part in the capture of Island No. 10 in the early spring of that year.⁸²

Most of the Ohio regiments and artillery batteries, however, were stationed in central Kentucky opposite the Confederate line which was centered at Bowling Green. They were organized into three divisions commanded by A. McD. McCook, William Nelson, O. M. Mitchell, and T. L. Crittenden.⁸³ Troops operating in Kentucky were organized into the Army of the Ohio under the command of an Ohioan, Don Carlos Buell. When Fort Donelson fell and the Confederate Bowling Green line crumpled as a result, Buell's army, excepting Mitchell's division, occupied Nashville and then moved to re-enforce Grant at Pittsburg Landing.

Ohio was represented at Shiloh by twenty-eight infantry regiments, five batteries, and a cavalry regiment. Seventeen regiments, four batteries, and a cavalry battalion were in Grant's Army of the Tennessee. Eleven regiments, one battery, and a cavalry unit were in the part of Buell's Army of the Ohio which reached the field before the close of the battle.⁸⁴ The Ohioans comprised about one-fifth of Grant's troops and nearly one-third of Buell's army.

On Sunday morning, April 6, when the battle opened, only ten Ohio regiments, four batteries, and a cavalry battalion were available for action.⁸⁵ All but one of these ten regiments were in the division of W. T. Sherman, the other was with W. H. L. Wallace.⁸⁶ One battery was with John A. McClermand,⁸⁷ one with Stephen A. Hurlbut,⁸⁸ and two with Benjamin M. Prentiss.⁸⁹ Most of Sherman's brigades were encamped in an advanced

⁸⁰ 9th.

⁸¹ 20th, 58th, 68th, 76th.

⁸² 27th, 39th, 43rd, 63rd.

⁸³ In these divisions were 19 infantry regiments, 4 batteries of artillery, and a cavalry regiment.

⁸⁴ O.R., I, pp. 100-108.

⁸⁵ 46th, 48th, 53rd, 54th, 57th, 70th, 71st, 72d, 77th, 81st; 5th, 8th, 13th, and 14th Independent Batteries; 5th Cav.

⁸⁶ 81st.

⁸⁷ 14th Independent Battery.

⁸⁸ 13th Independent Battery.

⁸⁹ 5th, 8th Independent Batteries.

position on the right of the Union forces between the Corinth Road and Owl Creek. Ohio troops constituted seven-ninths of Sherman's strength at that position.

At 8:00 a.m., Sherman, hearing the musketry of the encounter between Prentiss' advanced detachment and William B. Hardee's troops a short distance in front of his camp, managed to deploy his brigades. Whether or not his troops were surprised has been the subject of much controversy, but they certainly were not prepared for the heavy onslaught which burst upon them. One brigade fired a volley or two and, according to Sherman, "substantially disappeared from the field."⁹⁰ The colonel of an Ohio regiment, apparently fearing a flank attack, called to his men, "Fall back and save yourselves!"⁹¹ The men fled in confusion and the other two regiments of the brigade followed.⁹² A few companies attached themselves to other brigades and fought on, but many doubtless joined the mass of stragglers who skulked during the day below the bluff at Pittsburg Landing.

The other Ohio brigade under Ralph P. Buckland fought bravely; for two hours it checked the Confederate attempt to cross the ravine near the Shiloh Meetinghouse and then retreated in good order to the Purdy Road on orders from Sherman.⁹³ The Brigade Commander reported that "under a deadly fire from the enemy, officers and men behaved with great coolness and bravery."⁹⁴ A Buckeye regiment in John A. McDowell's brigade engaged in a destructive fight at close quarters for over an hour, losing 222 in killed and wounded.⁹⁵ Robert Trabue, commanding the attacking Confederate force, thought he had killed and wounded four to five hundred men in this regiment, so obstinate was their resistance.⁹⁶

One Ohio battery with Hurlbut's division "after a single shot . . . abandoned the entire battery, horses, caissons, and guns, and fled," according to the report of their division commander.⁹⁷ However, another Ohio battery with Prentiss at the "Hornet's Nest," although in its first battle, behaved gallantly throughout the bloody struggle at that point.⁹⁸

Two Ohio regiments were among the first of Buell's army to cross the river and reach the field of battle.⁹⁹ The brigade of Jacob Ammen (a West Pointer from Brown County, Ohio), with two Ohio regiments and one from Indiana,¹⁰⁰ disembarked from the transports at Pittsburg Landing shortly

⁹⁰ Hildebrand's 53d, 57th, 77th. Sherman's report, *O.R.*, I, 10, pt. 1, pp. 248-254.

⁹¹ 53rd. Manning F. Force, *General Sherman* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1899), pp. 53-55.

⁹² 57th, 77th.

⁹³ 48th, 70th, 72nd.

⁹⁴ Buckland's report, *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 266, 267.

⁹⁵ 46th. Force, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

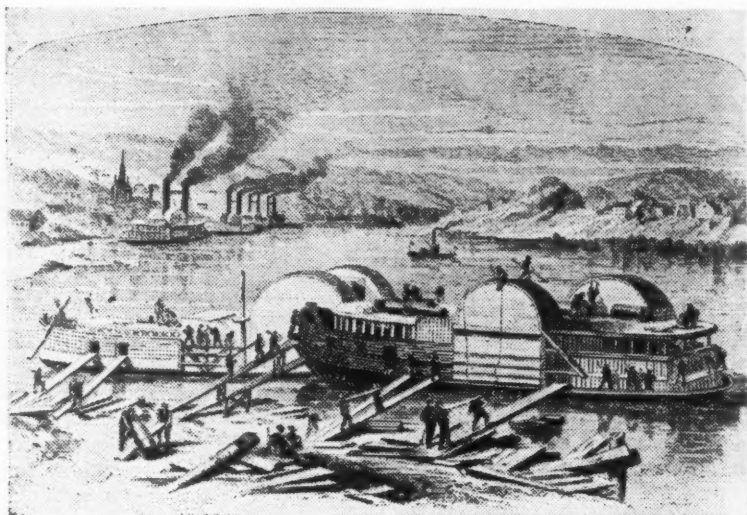
⁹⁶ Trabue's report, *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 613-621; see especially p. 615.

⁹⁷ 13th Independent Battery. Hurlbut's report, *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁹⁸ 5th Independent Battery.

⁹⁹ 6th, 24th.

¹⁰⁰ 36th Indiana.



Fitting out gunboats at Cincinnati. From *Whitelaw Reid's Ohio in the War* (Moore, Wiltach & Baldwin, Cincinnati, 1868), Volume I, opposite page 136.

after five o'clock in the afternoon. Braxton Bragg was then leading the final Confederate attempt to reach the landing, and his exhausted troops were crossing Dill's Branch to charge the hill a few hundred yards from the landing. With little or no infantry support, only the guns hastily assembled by Staff Officer Joseph D. Webster defended this all important position. Its capture might have meant the destruction of Grant's army.

Ammen's men, upon disembarking, were practically forced to fight their way through the mob of demoralized stragglers who crowded the landing. These "knaves," as William "Bull" Nelson called them, shouted to the arriving troops that the army had been "whipped and cut to pieces."¹⁰¹ The discipline of the brigade was such, however, that despite this demoralizing and depressing reception, they marched in perfect order up the hill and were placed by Grant and Buell in positions to support Webster's batteries. The Confederates were already advancing up the slope. Mentioning only the division of which Ammen's brigade was a part, Grant in terse military language reported on the timely arrival of this Indiana regiment and the two from Ohio:

At a late hour in the afternoon a desperate effort was made by the enemy to turn our left and get possession of the Landing . . . no troops were stationed here, except the necessary artillerists [for a battery of rifled guns] and a small infantry force for their support. Just at this moment the advance of Major-General Buell's column (a part of the division of General Nelson) arrived, the two generals named both being present. An advance was immediately made upon the point of attack and the enemy soon driven back.¹⁰²

After marching and countermarching all day from Crump's Landing, Lewis Wallace's division reached the field by evening and took position on the right of the Union line. With Wallace were four Ohio regiments, heroes of Fort Donelson.¹⁰³ By morning three divisions of Buell's army, containing nine Ohio regiments, had crossed the river and were in line of battle on the left.¹⁰⁴ By this time, many of the stragglers of the previous day had returned to their regiments. With increased strength and renewed confidence the two Union armies advanced to the attack, and throughout the morning and early afternoon of the second day the lines surged back and forth. About two o'clock, P. G. T. Beauregard, who had succeeded to the Confederate command when Albert Sidney Johnston was killed, gave up the unequal struggle and retired his army to Corinth.

¹⁰¹ Nelson's report, *O.R., op. cit.*, pp. 323-26; especially p. 324.

¹⁰² Grant's report, *O.R., op. cit.*, p. 109.

¹⁰³ 20th, 58th, 76th, 78th.

¹⁰⁴ 1st, 6th, 13th, 15th, 19th, 24th, 41st, 49th, 59th.

In the second day's fighting some of the heaviest losses fell upon the brigade of William B. Hazen, who had been appointed to West Point from Huron, Ohio. This brigade charged an annoying enemy battery and captured it but was enfiladed by adjacent batteries and lost 406 men. The Ohio regiment of the brigade sent 373 officers and men into the charge and came out a half-hour later with 231—a loss of 39 per cent.¹⁰⁵

Smarting under stories of "cowardice" on the part of Ohio troops, and shocked by the casualty lists, Ohio politicians and newspapers rushed to the defense of the rank and file of Buckeye soldiers. They were not cowards, their defenders insisted; they had been surprised and routed because of "criminal negligence" on the part of the command. The Lieutenant Governor of Ohio in a newspaper article blamed "the blundering . . . of the general in command," and Sherman seized his pen to defend Grant in a characteristic letter to Secretary of War Stanton.¹⁰⁶

In his report of the battle, Sherman offered an explanation of, and an apology for, the bad conduct of some of his soldiers:

My division was made up of regiments perfectly new, nearly all having received their muskets for the first time at Paducah. None of them had ever been under fire or beheld heavy columns of an enemy bearing down on them as they did on us last Sunday. They knew nothing of the value of combination and organization. When individual fears seized them the first impulse was to get away. To expect of them the coolness and steadiness of older troops would be wrong.¹⁰⁷

It has been said that Shiloh was a soldiers' battle. The tangled terrain of woods, ravines, ridges, and swamps made it impossible to maintain formations. Brigades and regiments became disorganized and the men fought in groups or by platoons. Nearly half of these boys, just off the farms, had never heard a hostile gun, and lacked the discipline and *esprit de corps* born only of experience. In the confusion of battle, the strong-hearted fought heroically; the weak sought safety behind the lines. In evaluating the performance of his troops, a brigade commander said they represented "the various grades of courage from reckless daring to ignominious fear."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ 41st. Robert L. Kimberly and Ephraim S. Holloway, *The Forty-first Ohio Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865*. (Cleveland: W. R. Smellie, 1897), p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ Lloyd Lewis, Sherman; *Fighting Prophet* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., #C 1932), pp. 233, 234.

¹⁰⁷ Sherman's report, *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

¹⁰⁸ W. S. Smith's report, *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-367; quotation from p. 366.

Union casualties of the two days totaled 13,047, of whom 1754 were killed, 8408 wounded, and 2885 captured or missing. Ohio troops paid their full share of this terrible price, with 1676 killed and wounded, 16 per cent of the Union total.¹⁰⁹

The vast army assembled by Henry W. Halleck at Pittsburgh Landing in May, 1862, included thirty-five Ohio infantry regiments, a number of batteries, and three cavalry regiments—the largest concentration of Ohio troops up to that time. Four regiments had been with John Pope at Island No. 10;¹¹⁰ four had been added from Kentucky;¹¹¹ the others had been with Grant at Shiloh. Slowly they advanced against the railway center at Corinth, entrenching at each position gained. It has been said facetiously that they practically dug their way to Corinth—it was trench warfare carried to an extreme.

After the capture of Corinth, Halleck, having been appointed General in Chief of all the Armies, introduced his "pepperbox" strategy by which this great army was dispersed. Don Carlos Buell's Army of the Ohio moved slowly eastward along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad to seize Chattanooga. Grant took command of troops scattered over western Tennessee and northern Mississippi from Memphis to Decatur, Alabama.

On October 3 and 4, 1862, Earl Van Dorn and Sterling Price struck at Corinth. In this battle an Ohio brigade commanded by John W. Fuller, a Toledo publisher, performed heroically. In fierce hand-to-hand encounter, Fuller's brigade drove back the charging forces of Dabney Maury at Battery Robinett.¹¹² In Sherman's expedition against Vicksburg in December he had ten Ohio regiments and three batteries.¹¹³ Four of these regiments were in the storming party at Chickasaw Bluffs,¹¹⁴ one regiment losing 117 killed and wounded and 194 captured.¹¹⁵

In the three army corps available to Grant for his second, and successful, move to take Vicksburg were twenty-one Ohio regiments and eight batteries—18 per cent of the infantry and 30 per cent of the artillery.¹¹⁶ During

¹⁰⁹ *O.R., op. cit.*, pp. 100-108.

¹¹⁰ 27th, 39th, 43d, 63d.

¹¹¹ 6th, 15th, 19th, 80th.

¹¹² 27th, 39th, 43d, 63d.

¹¹³ 16th, 42nd, 54th, 57th, 58th, 76th, 83rd, 96th, 114th, 120th; 4th, 6th, 8th Independent Batteries.

¹¹⁴ 16th, 42d, 54th, 58th.

¹¹⁵ 16th, *O.R.*, I, 17, pt. 1, p. 625.

¹¹⁶ Thirteenth Corps (McClelland): 16th, 42d, 48th, 56th, 83rd, 96th, 114th, 120th; 2d, 16th, 17th Independent Batteries.

Fifteenth Corps (Sherman): 30th, 37th, 47th, 54th, 57th, 72d, 76th, 95th; 4th, 8th Independent Batteries.

Seventeenth Corps (McPherson): 20th, 32d, 68th, 78th, 80th; 3d, 10th, 11th Independent Batteries.

the winter and spring of 1863 they sloshed about in the marshes north and east of Vicksburg, digging canals and exploring bayous, in an effort to find an approach to the Vicksburg hills from the east. After the gun boats and transports had run past the Vicksburg batteries, the troops were transported across the river south of the city and were maneuvered over a distance of 200 miles. For eighteen days they lived on the country, fighting battles at Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion's Hill and the Big Black River. In the decisive battle at Champion's Hill four Ohio regiments in John A. Logan's division steadily advanced up the north slope of the hills and by penetrating the enemy lines routed the Confederate left wing.¹¹⁷ An Ohio regiment in Alvin P. Hovey's division engaged with heavy losses in the charge that after two hours of fierce fighting drove the enemy forces of Carter L. Stevenson from the east ridge of the hills.¹¹⁸ Practically all of the Ohio troops were engaged in the two futile frontal attacks on the Confederate lines at Vicksburg, with a loss of 550 men—about 13 per cent of the Union total.¹¹⁹ They played their part in the 47-days' siege of Vicksburg.

During these months, the Ohio troops in central and eastern Tennessee had been contending with the armies of Braxton Bragg and E. Kirby Smith. Buell's Army of the Ohio had attempted to occupy Chattanooga, but in September, 1862, when it was learned that Bragg was advancing through Kentucky, Buell abandoned the Chattanooga front and raced to the defense of Louisville.

Meantime, E. Kirby Smith had defeated the raw troops of William Nelson at Richmond, Kentucky, and was menacing Cincinnati with 4,000 men. Governor David Tod of Ohio rushed all available Ohio regiments to the defense of the state's largest city. Unorganized citizens with personal weapons of all types—called thereafter in Ohio "the squirrel hunters"—hurried singly and in groups to Cincinnati. Kirby Smith, however, soon withdrew toward Frankfort and the so-called "siege of Cincinnati" was lifted.¹²⁰

With some of the new ill-equipped and poorly trained regiments added to his army, Buell with thirty Ohio regiments, four batteries, and a cavalry regiment marched out of Louisville to engage Bragg's forces to the southeast. The armies met at Perryville on October 8. In a short but desperately fought struggle, both suffered great losses but the results were indecisive, although Bragg ultimately withdrew from Kentucky.

The heavy fighting at Perryville was concentrated against Alexander

¹¹⁷ 20th, 32d, 68th, 78th.

¹¹⁸ 56th.

¹¹⁹ *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, p. 671.

¹²⁰ Emilius O. Randall and Daniel J. Ryan. *History of Ohio* . . . (5 vols.; New York: The Century History Co., 1912), IV, pp. 187-189.

McDowell McCook's corps which held the Union left wing. McCook's two divisions included nine Ohio regiments,¹²¹ four of them in the division on the extreme left that received the full force of enemy attack.¹²² They struggled valiantly against the superior forces of Benjamin Cheatham but were driven back, some in disorder. A brigade positioned by chance in the rear of McCook finally checked the Confederate advance. In explaining his failure to win a complete victory with overpowering strength, Buell made reference to new troops falling into disorder, a charge much resented by the men of McCook's Tenth Division to which Buell referred.¹²³ They insisted that they had done most of the fighting and cited their heavy losses to prove it. About one-fourth of the men engaged had been either killed, wounded, or captured in an action of short duration. Nevertheless, the historian of one Ohio regiment that had seen only a few weeks of service admitted that the regiment "did not win . . . much reputation for military efficiency" at Perryville.¹²⁴

Over 10,000 Ohioans were among the 47,000 men that William Starke Rosecrans (born and raised near Delaware County, Ohio) led south from Nashville on the day after Christmas in 1862. On the night of December 30, twenty-nine Ohio regiments, eight Ohio batteries, and three Ohio cavalry regiments lay awaiting the impending battle along Stone's River northwest of Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

In Alexander McCook's three divisions, which made up the Union right, were five Ohio regiments.¹²⁵ At daybreak on the last day of 1862 the Union right was furiously assaulted by William B. Hardee's corps, which had been concentrated on the Confederate left. The Union position was faulty, one of the division commanders was a mile and a half from the front, one brigade commander was severely wounded, and another captured. McCook's brigades were consequently overwhelmed by the divisions of Patrick Cleburne and John P. McCown—two-fifths of Bragg's entire strength. Although driven back in confusion, McCook's forces continued to fight as they retreated from one position to another, one regiment occupying six positions during the morning. The losses on both sides were heavy, one Union brigade having 627 killed and wounded.¹²⁶ An Ohio regiment lost nearly half of the men engaged.¹²⁷

The early morning Confederate attack had been so successful that by noon victory appeared to be within grasp. To save the Union right and

¹²¹ 2d, 3rd, 10th, 33rd, 50th, 94th, 98th, 105th, 121st.

¹²² 50th, 98th, 105th, 121st.

¹²³ Buell's report, *O.R.*, I, 16, pt. 1, pp. 1023-31.

¹²⁴ Reid, *op. cit.*, II, 620.

¹²⁵ 1st, 15th, 49th, 93rd, 101st.

¹²⁶ Second Brigade, First Division (Carlin), *O.R.*, I, 20, pt. 1, pp. 207-17.

¹²⁷ 101st. *O.R.*, *ibid.*

center, Rosecrans prepared a new defensive line with troops drawn from the left. To delay the Confederate advance, George H. Thomas, commanding the center, retired the division of Lovell H. Rousseau under fire through the cedar brakes to a new improvised line, with artillery in his rear. In this hastily prepared position were three brigades: O. L. Shepherd's brigade of regulars supported by those of Benjamin Scribner and John Beatty. In the latter two brigades, four Ohio regiments stood ready to defend their new, and vital, position.¹²⁸ The exultant troops of Cleburne and McGown, eager to follow up their advantage, emerged from the cedar woods and dashed with fury toward the Union line. The brunt of the attack fell upon Shepherd's regulars, but they were effectively supported by Scribner's and Beatty's volunteer troops. As the Confederates rushed forward, they were met by a galling volley of cannister and musketry. Despite fearful losses they returned four times to the assault, but to no avail. The valiant stand of Rousseau's brigades had "saved the [Union] center and the army."¹²⁹

Hardee's troops having thus been checked on the right of the Union line, Bragg's next move was against Rosecrans' center and left. The objective chosen was high ground along the Nashville Pike and the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, designated by the Confederates as the "Round Forest." This position was repeatedly assaulted by the forces of Leonidas Polk, strengthened by four brigades from John C. Breckinridge's corps brought from the east side of Stone's River.¹³⁰ At one time this key position was defended only by the brigade of an Ohio general, William B. Hazen. Later, however, additional troops, including artillery, were concentrated at Round Forest. In addition to the one Ohio regiment in Hazen's brigade, five other Ohio regiments were severely engaged at this crucial point.¹³¹ With bayonets and clubbed rifles these Ohio boys, along with those from Indiana and Illinois, heroically repulsed the desperate effort to break the Union line.

Two days later when Breckinridge charged from his position east of the river, Ohio troops again played a conspicuous part. The Confederate attack was upon Horatio P. Van Cleve's division, then commanded by Samuel Beatty, which occupied the ground east of the river. The attackers carried everything before them and drove Beatty's three brigades across the river. Concentrated on high ground were fifty-eight guns hastily put into position by Artillerist John E. Mendenhall. As the Confederates reached the river, Mendenhall's great battery opened upon them with devastating effect. The columns retreated and halted to reform their

¹²⁸ 2d, 3d, 33d, 94th.

¹²⁹ Thomas B. Van Horne, *History of the Army of the Cumberland* . . . (2 vols.; Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1875), I, 238.

¹³⁰ Adams, Jackson, Palmer, Preston.

¹³¹ 6th, 24th, 26th, 40th, 41st, 97th.

lines. As the gray columns withdrew, John F. Miller, commanding a brigade which contained two Ohio regiments, charged across the river and fell upon Breckinridge's disorganized troops.¹³² Other brigades followed. This timely countercharge (made without waiting for orders) checked any chance Breckinridge might have had to reorganize his men. Additional Union troops, with the help of artillery, forced him to retire to the woods from which he had emerged an hour and a half before. Four Ohio regiments played an important part in his repulse, the last of Bragg's efforts to achieve a victory at Stone's River.¹³³

In the four days of fighting, 2538 Ohio troops had been killed or wounded; 1103 were missing or captured.¹³⁴ Bragg retired from the field on the night of January 3, but the results could scarcely be called decisive for either side. The two armies that fought at Stone's River were destined to meet in another bloody battle nine months later.

After six months of inaction at Murfreesboro, Rosecrans skillfully maneuvered Bragg out of Chattanooga. Believing the Confederate forces to be in retreat, Rosecrans incautiously pushed across the mountains south of Chattanooga to cut them off. Bragg turned upon him, but lost the opportunity of striking while his enemy was widely dispersed. Rosecrans succeeded in concentrating his forces along Chickamauga Creek.

On the morning of the 19th of September, 1863, Rosecrans had at Chickamauga 138 regiments, 36 batteries, and 20 cavalry regiments¹³⁵—an army estimated at 56,160.¹³⁶ Among these were 44 Ohio infantry regiments, 11 Ohio batteries, and 4 Ohio cavalry regiments, approximately 30 per cent of the Army of the Cumberland available for battle.¹³⁷ For two days, from morning until long after dark, these Ohio boys with their comrades from Illinois, Indiana, and other western states were to match their strength and courage against similar valor and determination displayed by the lads from Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and other parts of the South. When the guns were silenced, on the night of September 20, 3591 Ohio soldiers lay dead or wounded on the field, and 1351 were prisoners of war. Fifteen Ohio regiments had each lost, in killed and wounded, over 100 officers and men, and two others had lost over 200 each.¹³⁸

Ohio troops were active at the very opening stage of the battle. Eight Ohio regiments marched out with the divisions of Absalom Baird and John Brannan on the morning of the 19th to capture what was supposed

¹³² 21st, 74th.

¹³³ 18th, 21st, 69th, 74th.

¹³⁴ *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-17.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 30, pp. 40-47.

¹³⁶ Van Horne, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-61.

¹³⁷ *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-47.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-179.

to be an isolated Confederate brigade near Reed's Bridge.¹³⁹ Instead of one brigade, they were met by Bedford Forrest's cavalry and a heavy concentration of infantry. Unknown to Rosecrans, seven-tenths of the Confederate Army had already crossed to the west side of Chickamauga Creek. The two Union divisions were severely tried. Three Ohio regiments in Baird's division were driven back in disorder, losing most of their artillery.¹⁴⁰ Some of the guns, however, were recaptured by the gallant bayonet charge of an Ohio regiment made up of German-American troops.¹⁴¹ What appeared to be disaster on the Union left was retrieved by reinforcements from the divisions of John M. Palmer and Richard W. Johnson. Nine Ohio regiments in these two divisions took part in the severe fighting which, after an hour, drove Benjamin Cheatham's troops back. George H. Thomas, commanding the Union left, then re-formed and strengthened his line.¹⁴² Throughout this first day, two mighty armies wrestled along a battle front of over four miles from Reed's Bridge to Lee and Gordon's Mill. The lines surged back and forth across the Lafayette Road and in the woods on both sides. The day's results were indecisive and both armies lay on their arms to await the renewal of the terrible struggle on the following morning.

On the second day, Bragg attempted again to turn the left of the Union line and to gain possession of the road to Rossville and Chattanooga. He assigned this task to the troops of John C. Breckinridge and Pat Cleburne. They charged repeatedly and furiously, but each time were repulsed and badly shattered by Baird's, Palmer's, and Johnson's divisions. Ohio troops played a creditable part in thus saving the left of Thomas' line. About noon came the break through the Union center by Longstreet's troops. The Union right wing was cut off and demoralized. The regiments that had remained on the right side of the line were thrown into confusion and followed the commanding general and two corps commanders to Rossville and Chattanooga.

At about the same time, Bragg made another effort against Thomas' left. Breckinridge was sent still farther to the Confederate right. His assaults were vigorous and persistent, but his troops were routed. Notable in this action was a gallant bayonet charge by the brigade of Ferdinand Van Derveer, a former sheriff of Butler County, Ohio, which was composed of two Ohio, one Minnesota, and one Indiana regiment.¹⁴³

Following up the advantage gained by the break through the gap in the Union lines, Longstreet's seemingly triumphant troops advanced northward to gain the rear of what remained of the Union lines. However,

¹³⁹ 2d, 9th, 14th, 17th, 31st, 33d, 35th, 94th.

¹⁴⁰ 2d, 33d, 94th.

¹⁴¹ 9th.

¹⁴² 1st, 6th, 15th, 24th, 41st, 49th, 90th, 93d, 124th; 1st Art., Battery A; 20th Independent Battery.

¹⁴³ 9th, 35th; 87th Ind.; 2d Minn.

Brannan's division managed to shift its position to a high knoll on a ridge that, because of its crescent-like shape, has come to be named "Horse-shoe Ridge." Thomas put Wood's division in to fill a gap on Brannan's left. These two divisions, with the assistance of other brigades and fragmentary units from the right wing, made their memorable stand on this ridge. They met and repulsed the fierce charges of Longstreet's solid columns. For seven hours, 4000 troops held the ridge against overwhelming numbers. At least eleven Ohio regiments, some reduced to not more than 100 men, contributed to this heroic struggle to save the Union Army.¹⁴⁴

The character of the fighting on the ridge was graphically described by the historian of one of the Ohio regiments.

The scene at this time was horrible. The battery had set fire to the leaves and dry brush, and the dead and wounded were consumed by the fire The ammunition was now nearly exhausted, and a further supply could not be found nearer than Chattanooga, nearly a day's march distant. The cartridge-boxes of the dead were searched. . . . By economy the regiment continued to fire until after dark, when its last shot was expended. At this time the enemy had appeared upon the right and rear, and the regiment, now greatly reduced in numbers, was formed for one more desperate effort to hold the ridge. . . . A charge was ordered . . . and, though entirely without ammunition, the bayonet was applied with entire success.¹⁴⁵

Nevertheless, it appeared that all of these valiant efforts were to result only in ultimate defeat, when Thomas C. Hindman, commanding Longstreet's left, effected a lodgment on the ridge to the right of Brannan's division. Thomas had no reinforcements to call upon, and only a narrow fringe of bayonets stood to halt the Confederate flanking movement. At this dark crisis, a Union column was seen advancing hurriedly across the battlefield from the north. James B. Steedman, newspaper editor, railroad contractor, and politician from Toledo, was approaching with two brigades containing five Ohio regiments.¹⁴⁶ They had been sent, without orders, by Gordon Granger from his reserves posted on the Rossville Road two miles north of the ridge. These fresh troops fell upon Hindman's forces which had already crossed the ridge. Steedman's losses were severe, but the timely arrival of his command had saved the army. One Ohio regiment experiencing its first battle found this desperate action a "bloody baptism," for on this afternoon it lost 138 men out of 382 engaged.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ 9th, 14th, 18th, 21st, 26th, 31st, 35th, 41st, 64th, 65th, 125th.

¹⁴⁵ Reid, *op. cit.*, II, 151.

¹⁴⁶ 21st, 40th, 89th, 98th, 113th, 121st.

¹⁴⁷ 113th. Reid, *op. cit.*, II, 596.

When the Army of the Cumberland retired into Chattanooga on September 21, the Confederate Army of Tennessee seized the mountains to the east, south, and west of the city. Of especial importance were Raccoon Mountain to the west and Lookout Mountain to the south. From positions on these hills, the Confederates were able to command the river, the road, and the railroad from Chattanooga to Stevenson, Alabama, the location of the Union supply depot. Supplies from Stevenson must necessarily, therefore, be brought by wagon for a distance of more than sixty miles over devious, narrow, and muddy mountain roads. Moreover, the wagon trains were subject to frequent attacks by Confederate cavalry and guerrillas.

Virtually in a state of siege and with a meager and precarious supply line, the condition of the Union Army became worse from day to day. Rations were reduced to one-half and finally to about one-third. For lack of forage, horses and mules became so weak as to be of little service. No Union troops were ever as near to starvation as were those in this army during this forty-day siege of Chattanooga. Mule meat and cow's tails became luxuries. An Ohio soldier told about it: "The hides and tails of a few cattle brought in to be slaughtered across the river were gladly pressed into service for food. A cow's tail found a ready market at \$10."¹⁴⁸

A plan was devised to bring relief to these hungry troops. The Tennessee River was to be crossed at Brown's Ferry, seven miles downstream from Chattanooga, a bridgehead established on the south side, and contact made with Joe Hooker's troops, which would march northeast from Bridgeport. The Confederates, thus cut off, would be compelled to abandon their position on Raccoon Mountain, and the river would then be opened to a point where a short, protected road led to Chattanooga. William B. Hazen was placed in command of the troops chosen to cross the river. Of the fifteen regiments in the two brigades assigned to the task, eleven were from Ohio,¹⁴⁹ hence the Brown's Ferry expedition was almost entirely an Ohio enterprise.

At three in the morning of October 27, 1863, fifty-two pontoon boats manned by 1200 picked men, about 800 of whom were Ohioans, left Chattanooga, floated silently and unobserved past the Confederate sentinels along the river, attacked the small company at Brown's Ferry, and after a brief engagement, gained the hills on the south side (west at that point). Hooker's troops seized Lookout Valley, the Confederates gave up Raccoon Mountain, and supplies were brought up the river by boat and safely transported in wagons to Chattanooga. The "cracker line"

¹⁴⁸ Albion W. Tourgee, *The Story of a Thousand* . . . (Buffalo: S. McGerald & Son, 1896), pp. 251-53.

¹⁴⁹ 1st, 6th, 11th, 17th, 31st, 36th, 41st, 89th, 92d, 93d, 124th.

was restored, and from then on any thought of evacuating Chattanooga was abandoned in favor of plans for driving the gray soldiers from the surrounding heights.

With the addition of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps under Hooker (which had been moved by railroad from Virginia) and Sherman's Army of the Tennessee (which had marched from the Mississippi Valley), Grant had at Chattanooga in November, 1863, close to 90,000 men. An estimated 27,000 were in Ohio infantry, artillery, and cavalry units. The relation of the number of Ohio units to the total in the Union armies can best be shown by the following table.¹⁵⁰

	Army of the Cumberland		*Army of the Potomac		Army of the Tennessee		All Armies	
	Total Ohio		Total Ohio		Total Ohio		Total Ohio	
Infantry Reg.	139	45	36	8	56	10	231	63
Artillery Bat.	29	11	7	2	12	1	48	14
Cavalry Units	10	5	0	0	0	0	10	5

*Eleventh and Twelfth Army Corps

Beginning with the movement at Chattanooga, Ohio troops played a more decisive role in the final outcome of the war in the west. (In the late months of 1863 and during 1864 they became an increasing segment of the western armies).

Ohio troops took a prominent part in the first important action to drive Braxton Bragg's forces from the hills and mountains east and south of Chattanooga. Until November 23, the Confederate line occupied Orchard Knob, a ridge located halfway between Chattanooga and Missionary Ridge. At noon on that day four divisions were arrayed in front of Fort Wood under orders "to discover the position of the enemy." The division of Thomas J. Wood advanced toward the ridge. When they reached Orchard Knob, they not only discovered the enemy, but found him strongly posted behind breastworks. Without further orders from headquarters they pushed forward. Under a withering fire they made a dash for the breastworks and in a short struggle drove the enemy back toward Missionary Ridge. Entrenchments soon secured a position that furnished a valuable springboard from which to launch the later decisive action against Missionary Ridge. Of the twenty-five regiments in Wood's division, ten were from Ohio.¹⁵¹ An Ohio brigade that occupied the right of the division suffered heavy losses from a flanking fire. Riding up to an Ohio regiment in this brigade to thank the officers and men, George H.

¹⁵⁰ O.R., I, 31, pt. 2, pp. 14-24.

¹⁵¹ 1st, 6th, 13th, 15th, 19th, 41st, 49th, 59th, 93rd, 124th.

Thomas exclaimed, "A gallant thing, Colonel, a very gallant thing." This high compliment from a commander they loved was never forgotten by the men of the regiment.¹⁵²

When Hooker advanced against Lookout Mountain in the early morning of November 24, he had among his command nine Ohio regiments: four in John Geary's division,¹⁵³ four with Charles Cruft,¹⁵⁴ and one with Peter J. Osterhaus.¹⁵⁵ They effected a crossing of Lookout Creek, swept along the west and north faces of Lookout, and began the ascent of this rugged and rocky mountain. "Taking cover behind trees, stumps, and rocky walls, zigzagging, one man hoisting another upon his shoulders,"¹⁵⁶ they scaled the precipices. At the relatively level space below, and north of, the palisades they came upon the enemy defenses. The terrain apparently was more formidable than the forces defending it. Not many more than 2000 Confederates were available to meet the onslaught, and by two o'clock in the afternoon observers below could see gray soldiers retreating down the eastern slopes. The fact that the enemy consisted of only a few thousand does not lessen the bravery of the Ohioans and their comrades from other states who undertook in the fog of the early dawn to climb those perpendicular cliffs to meet a foe of unknown strength.

Meanwhile, seven miles up the Tennessee River from Lookout Mountain, Sherman's men were crossing to the south bank in boats or by the pontoon bridge that had been constructed; among them were six Ohio regiments.¹⁵⁷ Their assignment was to turn the right of the Confederate position at the north end of Missionary Ridge. The most strenuous fighting was at Tunnel Gorge, in which two Ohio regiments (in the divisions of Hugh Ewing and John E. Smith) took a worthy part.¹⁵⁸ The vigorous assaults of these troops against William B. Hardee's forces on the ridge caused Bragg to strengthen his right at the expense of the center of his line.

On November 25, when the signal guns sounded for the assault against the Confederate center on Missionary Ridge, 88 regiments in four divisions advanced toward the rifle pits at the base of the ridge.¹⁵⁹ Among them were 31 Ohio regiments: 11 in Absalom Baird's division, 9 with T. J. Wood, 5 with Phil Sheridan, and 6 with Richard Johnson.¹⁶⁰ Military

¹⁵² Kimberly and Holloway, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁵³ 5th, 7th, 29th, 66th.

¹⁵⁴ 24th, 40th, 51st, 99th.

¹⁵⁵ 76th.

¹⁵⁶ James G. Wilson, *General Grant* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1897), pp. 189-99; quotation from p. 199.

¹⁵⁷ 30th, 47th, 49th, 54th, 57th, 80th.

¹⁵⁸ 49th, 80th.

¹⁵⁹ *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-24.

¹⁶⁰ Baird: 9th, 11th, 14th, 17th, 31st, 35th, 36th, 38th, 89th, 92d, 105th; Wood: 6th, 13th, 15th, 19th, 41st, 49th, 59th, 93d, 124th; Sheridan: 26th, 64th, 65th, 97th, 125th; and Johnson: 2d, 21st, 24th, 33d, 69th, 94th.

students have offered many explanations for the unexpected and dramatic charge up Missionary Ridge. With apparent spontaneity and without orders, these troops assaulted and took a seemingly impregnable position. Charles A. Dana called it "one of the greatest miracles in military history" and "a visible interposition of God."¹⁶¹ But a participant in an Ohio regiment apparently saw no providential intervention and offered a more natural explanation, for he wrote: "It was destruction to remain, it was impossible to withdraw."¹⁶²

Ohio casualties in the Chattanooga operations amounted to 271 killed, 1329 wounded, and 30 captured or missing—about 36 per cent of the total Union losses.¹⁶³ These losses seem unusually slight, considering the spectacular nature of the fighting, the decisiveness of the victory, and the great issues at stake.

In Sherman's armies that moved out against the forces of Joseph E. Johnston in the spring of 1864 were some 25,000 Ohioans, constituting about one-fourth of Sherman's strength. In the combined armies of the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Ohio, the Buckeye State furnished 78 infantry regiments, 12 batteries, and 10 cavalry regiments.¹⁶⁴ They were led by an Ohio commander, William Tecumseh Sherman; two Ohio corps commanders, James B. McPherson and Jacob D. Cox; and Division Commanders David S. Stanley, William B. Hazen, Thomas J. Wood, John W. Fuller and Mortimer D. Leggett all from Ohio.

During four months of the spring and summer of 1864, these troops fought, skirmished, and maneuvered in an advance of more than 100 miles over a rough and wild terrain. They pushed through tangled and pathless woods, forded swollen streams, and moved guns and wagon trains over rugged hills on rutted roads deep in either mud or dust. They were soaked by heavy rains during the entire month of June and suffered under a merciless sun in August. Forced marches were the order of the day, about one of which an Ohio officer wrote in his diary, "It is very warm, and we have marched . . . nine miles and have just now halted for the first time for fifteen minutes to rest."¹⁶⁵ The men were almost constantly under fire throughout the day and often during the night. Writing about the experiences of his regiment, an Ohioan reported, "They were eighty-three days, directly under fire, either in battle, on the skirmish line, in pursuit of the enemy or engaged in siege operations. The other

¹⁶¹ Charles A. Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War* . . . (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1898), pp. 150-151.

¹⁶² Kimberly and Holloway, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

¹⁶³ *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, 80-88.

¹⁶⁴ *O.R.*, I, 38, pt. 1, pp. 89-144.

¹⁶⁵ Oscar L. Jackson, *The Colonel's Diary* . . . (David P. Jackson, ed.; [Sharon, Pa., 1922]), p. 121.

twenty days they were on the march."¹⁶⁶ Another wrote, "It was a picket fight for breakfast, a skirmish for dinner, and another little fight to finish the day."¹⁶⁷ When not fighting or marching the troops were busy throwing up parapets. They had come to realize the defensive value of entrenchments and constructed hundreds of miles of them. As soon as a brigade had reached a position, digging would commence, often under fire. The men became remarkably skillful in the science of entrenching, and a regiment could set up a six-foot rifle pit in a single night.

The boys did their heaviest fighting at Resaca, in the neighborhood of Dallas, at Kenesaw Mountain, and in the environs of Atlanta. In the decisive battle of Atlanta on July 22, 1864, three Ohio regiments and an Ohio battery in Grenville Dodge's Sixteenth Corps played a vital role.¹⁶⁸ Executing John B. Hood's conception of a Jacksonian turning movement, William J. Hardee had marched his corps out of Atlanta during the night to strike the rear of the Union lines east of the city. At noon the next day the threatening Confederate columns suddenly emerged from the woods and advanced across open fields to the east and rear of the Union position. The Union commanders were surprised to hear the sound of cannon and musketry from that direction, but it happened that at that moment the two divisions of Grenville Dodge's corps, which had been marched from Decatur, five miles to the east, were in motion across the Confederate front. They were able to shift position to the left, to meet this unexpected attack.

The Ohio battery unlimbered on a strategic knoll and ploughed the ranks of the charging Confederates. The Ohio regiments, with their Illinois and Missouri comrades, opened a destructive fire. Although deployed only in a single line, the Union soldiers stood firm and drove the attacking forces back to the woods where they rallied and returned for repeated assaults, which were met by valorous obstinacy. The Confederates were finally "compelled to withdraw from a field made untenable by the determination, coolness, and valor displayed" by the men of Thomas W. Sweeney's division and John W. Fuller's brigade.¹⁶⁹ Hood's well-conceived plan had failed, and Ohio soldiers had done much to forestall a western "Chancellorsville."

Well over 14,000 Ohio officers and men answered to roll call in the four army corps and the cavalry which Sherman retained under his command to be used in the advance from Atlanta to Savannah. With 45 infantry regiments, 2 batteries, and 4 cavalry regiments, they led among the states represented in the 211 regiments, 14 batteries, 14 cavalry regiments, engineers and pontoniers which made up the army.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Tourgee, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

¹⁶⁷ Kimberly and Holloway, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

¹⁶⁸ 27th, 39th, 81st; 14th Independent Battery.

¹⁶⁹ Report of John M. Corse, *O.R.*, I, 38, pt. 3, pp. 407-8.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 44, pp. 19-25.

In the middle of November the relatives and neighbors of these Ohio soldiers learned that they were starting on an invasion of central Georgia, striking deep into enemy country with all communications severed. For an entire month there was no official word as to their fortune or fate. The only news was in dispatches from Southern papers, all predicting the ultimate annihilation of Sherman's army. At long last came O. O. Howard's message to Halleck, "We have met with perfect success thus far, troops in fine spirits."¹⁷¹ On December 15, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* in bold-face type announced to its worried readers, "Sherman All Right." The next day, the headline in the *Ohio State Journal* read, "Sherman Emerges. Perfect Success." "They made it! Sherman is at Savannah!" was shouted with joy over the rail fences and from every crossroads throughout Ohio.

At the same time news was received of the victory at Nashville. For a month, Hood with 50,000 men had been advancing northward through Tennessee. Thomas was at Nashville organizing an army to repel this bold invasion. John M. Schofield with the Fourth and Twenty-third Corps had been engaged in delaying Hood until Thomas was prepared. At Spring Hill, some thirty miles south of Nashville, Hood lost an opportunity to seize the Columbia-Nashville Pike and so interpose his army between Schofield and Thomas. His forward division, with only one Union brigade near, halted and withdrew when within a few hundred yards of the all-important pike. It is claimed that the rapid firing from the guns of Ohio batteries and the rifles of one regiment had deceived the Confederates into overrating the forces in front of them.¹⁷² In this ghastly struggle at Franklin an Ohio regiment was in the "Tiger Brigade" of Ohioan Emerson Opdycke.¹⁷³ This brigade in fierce hand-to-hand fighting checked and drove back the seemingly victorious foe which had broken the Union lines at the Carter house.

In the armies Thomas had assembled at Nashville, approximately 25 per cent of the infantry and artillery consisted of Ohio troops, but only one Ohio cavalry regiment and a battery were in James H. Wilson's cavalry corps of thirty-eight regiments.¹⁷⁴ Ohio was represented by twenty-eight infantry regiments and six batteries, all veterans, and, in addition, by a number of newly organized regiments.¹⁷⁵ In the battle of Nashville, Ohio troops charged Hood's positions on the hills south of the city. P. Sidney Post's brigade, all Ohio except for one regiment, stormed and captured Montgomery Hill, Hood's advance salient on December 15.¹⁷⁶ This bri-

¹⁷¹ *Ohio State Journal*, Columbus, December 16, 1864.

¹⁷² 103rd; 1st Art., Battery G; Levi T. Schofield, "The Retreat from Pulaski to Nashville," *Sketches of War History, 1861-1865*, vol. II (Published by the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Ohio Commandery; Cincinnati: R. Clarke & Co., 1888), pp. 150-52.

¹⁷³ 125th.

¹⁷⁴ 7th Cav.; 14th Independent Battery.

¹⁷⁵ *O.R.*, I, 45, pt. 1, pp. 90-96.

¹⁷⁶ 41st, 71st, 93d, 124th.

gade twice assaulted Overton Heights on the following day, the four Ohio regiments losing 205 killed and wounded in the battle.¹⁷⁷ Two Ohio regiments were in William L. McMillen's brigade in the initial attack which finally resulted in turning the Confederate left wing.¹⁷⁸ Ohio casualties were 518—17 per cent of the Union losses.¹⁷⁹

Many of the Ohio regiments traveled farther during the Civil War than did most of the overseas units of the American Expeditionary Force in World War I. One historian claims that his regiment covered over 10,000 miles in moving from Circleville, Ohio, to Vicksburg, Mississippi, on to Louisiana, to Texas, and back.¹⁸⁰ Another computed the distance traversed by his regiment to have been 9625 miles by rail, boat, and on foot from Newark, Ohio, to Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee; Vicksburg, Mississippi; Chattanooga, Tennessee; Savannah, Georgia; Raleigh, North Carolina; Washington, D.C., and home.¹⁸¹ One mathematically minded Ohioan added up the regimental mileage by the mode of travel and reported 1285 miles by rail, 3819 by boat, and 1621 on foot for a total of 7725.¹⁸²

A total of 35,475 Ohio men and youth had given their last full measure of devotion to the cause of the Union—about 12 per cent of the number enrolled in the various services. Assuming that the figures of the Adjutant General for the entire Union armies and navy apply in similar proportions to the Ohio troops, then out of each thousand men engaged, about 39 were killed or died of wounds and 88 died of disease.¹⁸³

The table below gives the statistical history of a typical Ohio regiment¹⁸⁴ which served for nearly three years:

Original Enlistments and Recruits	1099
Killed and Died	227
Resigned or Discharged for Disabilities	227
*Wounded	259
Prisoners of War	182
Absent or Sick in Hospitals	38
Absent Without Leave (Deserted)	36
Mustered Out with the Regiment	355

*Many of the wounded returned to the regiment.

The tattered and riddled colors that Ohio troops carried into battle have been carefully preserved and are proudly displayed in the capitol at Columbus.

¹⁷⁷ *O.R., op. cit.*, pp. 96-106.

¹⁷⁸ 72d, 95th.

¹⁷⁹ *O.R., op. cit.*, pp. 96-106.

¹⁸⁰ 114th. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 600.

¹⁸¹ 76th. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

¹⁸² 16th. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹⁸³ B. & L., *op. cit.*, IV, 767.

¹⁸⁴ 105th. Tourgee, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-384.

Sheridan's Ride

THOMAS BUCHANAN READ

Up from the South, at break of day,
Bringing to Winchester fresh dismay,
The affrighted air with a shudder bore
Like a herald in haste to the chieftain's door
The terrible grumble, and rumble, and roar,
Telling the battle was on once more,
And Sheridan twenty miles away.

And wider still those billows of war
Thundered along the horizon's bar;
And louder yet into Winchester rolled
The roar of that red sea uncontrolled,
Making the blood of the listener cold,
As he thought of the stake in that fiery fray,
And Sheridan twenty miles away.

But there is a road from Winchester town,
A good broad highway leading down;
And there through the flush of the morning light,
A steed as black as the steeds of night
Was seen to pass as with eagle flight,
As if he knew the terrible need;
He stretched away with his utmost speed;
Hills rose and fell, but his heart was gay,
With Sheridan fifteen miles away.

Still sprang from those swift hoofs thundering
south
The dust, like smoke from the cannon's mouth,
Or the trail of a comet sweeping faster and faster,
Foreboding to traitors the doom of disaster.
The heart of the steed and the heart of the master
Were beating like prisoners assaulting their walls,
Impatient to be where the battle-field calls;
Every nerve of the charger was strained to full
play,
With Sheridan only ten miles away.

Under his spurring feet the road
Like an arrowy Alpine river flowed,
And the landscape sped away behind
Like an ocean flying before the wind;
And the steed like a bark fed with furnace ire,
Swept on, with his wild eye full of fire,
But lo! he is nearing his heart's desire;
He is snuffling the smoke of the roaring fray,
With Sheridan only five miles away.

The first that the General saw were the groups
Of stragglers, and then the retreating troops;
What was done? What to do? A glance told him
both.

Then, striking his spurs, with a terrible oath
He dashed down the line mid a storm of huzzas,
And the wave of retreat checked its course there,
because
The sight of the master compelled it to pause.

With foam and with dust the black charger was
gray;
By the flash of his eye and his red nostrils' play
He seemed to the whole great army to say,
"I have brought you Sheridan all the way
From Winchester down, to save the day."
Hurrah! hurrah for Sheridan!
Hurrah! hurrah for horse and man!
And when their statues are placed on high
Under the dome of the Union sky,
The American soldier's Temple of Fame,
There, with the glorious General's name,
Be it said in letters both bold and bright,
"Here is the steed that saved the day
By carrying Sheridan into the fight,
From Winchester—twenty miles away."

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"The Fighting McCooks"

JAMES H. RODABAUGH

One of this country's most famous families of fighting soldiers lived in eastern Ohio and achieved its fame during the Civil War. The famous "fighting McCooks" included Daniel McCook of Carrollton, his nine sons, and their cousins, the five sons of Dr. John McCook of Steubenville, Daniel's brother.

The McCooks were a Scotch-Irish family which moved from Pennsylvania into Ohio in the 1820's. Daniel and John settled at Lisbon, Columbiana County, in 1826. Within a few years, Daniel moved to Carrollton, the county seat of Carroll County, and several years later John moved to Steubenville. Both men became prominent in their communities. Daniel arrived in Carrollton at the time of the organization of the county and became the first clerk of the court of common pleas. He also was a prosperous businessman and operated a brick plant and dealt in real estate. In addition, he became one of the Democratic Party leaders in eastern Ohio. John practiced medicine in Lisbon and Steubenville and also played an important role in the Democratic Party. Here in eastern Ohio the two brothers brought up their large families, mostly boys—fourteen of them—who were destined to make a notable mark in American military history.

The military career of the family began before the Mexican War when Daniel's third son, John James, entered the United States Naval Academy. After his graduation he went into active service in the navy. He was serving as a midshipman on the frigate *Delaware* in 1842 when he died of a fever and was buried at Rio de Janeiro. Three of Daniel's other sons also began their service before the Civil War: George Wythe, a law

partner of Edwin M. Stanton, served as an officer of the Third Ohio Volunteer Infantry and returned from Mexican War service as the regiment's commander; Alexander McDowell graduated from West Point in 1852 and served several years on the western frontier in campaigns against the Indians; Edwin Stanton graduated from the naval academy and served as a midshipman in the navy from 1854 to 1856. In John's family one member, Roderick Sheldon, entered military service before the Civil War. He graduated from Annapolis in 1859.

During the Civil War, Daniel and his eight surviving sons and John and his five sons offered their services to the Union. All fourteen participated actively in the war, thirteen of them as officers. The "Tribe of Dan" produced two major generals, two brigadier generals, two colonels, two majors, and one private in the war. The "Tribe of John" contributed one major general, one brigadier general, two lieutenants—one a chaplain—and a lieutenant in the navy. Four of Daniel's family lost their lives, including the father who died of wounds received in the Battle of Buffington Island with John Morgan and his guerrilla band. Daniel had been present at the first battle of Bull Run and in October, 1861, fought in the skirmish at Bolivar Heights, near Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, although he was then sixty-three years old.

Of Daniel's sons, the oldest, Latimer A. McCook, entered the service as an assistant surgeon but was soon promoted to surgeon, with the rank of major. He served throughout the war, was twice wounded, and died in 1869 as a result of his wounds and exposure on the field. The second son, George Wythe, who had served as attorney general of Ohio, was appointed colonel by Governor William Dennison to muster in the first two Ohio regiments sent to Washington after Lincoln's call to arms. He organized several Ohio regiments and commanded the 157th Ohio in the field in the summer of 1864.

Robert Latimer, the fourth son, enlisted immediately upon the firing on Fort Sumter, was appointed a colonel and assisted in raising a German regiment in Cincinnati which became the Ninth Ohio. He rendered distinguished service in West Virginia and Kentucky, rising to the rank of brigadier general. In 1862, while in command of the Third Brigade of the Army of the Ohio in Alabama and Tennessee, he was killed by Confederate guerrillas. General McCook was ill at the time and was riding in an ambulance some distance from the main body of his brigade.

The next in line in the "Tribe of Dan" was Alexander McDowell McCook, who was appointed in April, 1861, colonel of the First Ohio Volunteer Infantry, which he commanded at Bull Run. He served throughout the war, was cited for gallant and meritorious service at Nashville, Shiloh, and Perryville, and attained the rank of major general and command of the Twentieth Army Corps. He remained in the army after the war and

rose to the regular rank of major general in 1894. The sixth son, Daniel, Jr., organized a company at Leavenworth, Kansas, and offered its services early in 1861. Entering the war as a captain, he served successively as chief of staff of the Second Division of the Army of the Ohio, colonel of the 52nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and commander of the Third Brigade, Second Division, Fourteenth Army Corps, of the Army of the Cumberland. He was mortally wounded while leading the attack on Kenesaw Mountain, June 27, 1864, and was returned to Steubenville to his brother George's home, where he died on July 17, one day after his promotion to the full rank of brigadier general.

Edwin Stanton McCook, the seventh son, recruited a company and joined the 31st Illinois Volunteer Infantry as a captain in command of Company I. By 1862 he was in command of the 31st, and later he commanded a brigade and finally a division under Grant and Sherman. He was wounded three times and came out of the war a major general by brevet.

The two youngest sons, Charles Morris and John James (named for the brother who died in 1842), enlisted while students at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio—Charles in April, 1861, when he was less than eighteen. Serving as a private in the Second Ohio at the first Battle of Bull Run, he refused to surrender when surrounded by Confederate troops and was shot down. In 1862, at the age of seventeen, John James enrolled in the 52nd Ohio, a regiment his brother Dan was recruiting, but he was not officially mustered in because of his age. Soon thereafter, however, he was commissioned a lieutenant and assigned as aide-de-camp to his brother Dan, then in command of a post at Lexington, Kentucky. Later, he transferred to the 6th Ohio, and in November, 1862, he joined the staff of Major General Thomas L. Crittenden, commander of the 21st Army Corps. He served in many major campaigns in Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and Virginia before he was wounded at Shady Grove, Virginia, on May 30, 1864. He resigned from the army in the fall of that year and was brevetted colonel of U.S. Volunteers.

The military record of the members of the "Tribe of John" was equally distinguished. The oldest, Edward Moody McCook, was appointed major of the Second Indiana Cavalry soon after the outbreak of the war and rose rapidly through the ranks to major general. Prior to Sherman's March to the Sea, he commanded a diversionary drive into the enemy's lines from which he was driven back by Hood's army after he had inflicted considerable damage and captured a large number of Confederate troops. He resigned from the regular army after the war to accept the appointment as minister to the Sandwich Islands, now Hawaii.

Anson George, the second of John's sons, joined the Second Ohio Volunteer Infantry as captain in April, 1861 and was made a colonel in the

regiment in December, 1862. He served with distinction at Stone River, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, and in the Atlanta campaign, commanding the Second Ohio toward the end of its service. In March, 1865, he was given command of the 194th Ohio Infantry, which served in the Valley of Virginia till the end of the war. In the summer of 1865 he was made brigadier general by brevet for meritorious services.

Henry was a chaplain with the Forty-first Illinois Volunteer Infantry for about a year after serving as a recruiting officer at the outbreak of hostilities. Roderick Sheldon, the fourth son, served in the navy throughout the war, taking an active part in the campaigns off North and South Carolina and on the James River. At New Berne he moved a force of marines and a battery of guns to the shore and after the battle accepted the surrender of a Confederate infantry regiment. Roderick remained in the navy and was made a commander in 1873. The fifth son, John James, saw short service from the outbreak of the war in the First Virginia Volunteer Infantry.

A number of the "fighting McCooks" had eminent careers as civilians after the war. George Wythe was a prominent attorney and in 1871 was the Democratic candidate for governor of Ohio. Edwin became acting governor of Dakota Territory. John James of the "Tribe of Dan" built an important law practice in New York City and served, among other posts, as a trustee of Princeton University. Among the "Tribe of John," Edward, after returning from Hawaii, was twice named governor of Colorado Territory; Anson was a congressman from New York, 1877-1883, secretary of the United States Senate, 1883-1893, and chamberlain of the city of New York, 1895-1898; Henry became a Presbyterian minister and won fame for a number of books on theology and others on natural history, especially on ants and spiders; John James went into the Protestant Episcopal ministry and later was professor of modern languages at Trinity College.

This is the story of a remarkable American family. Not only did its many sons serve their country in war, but most of them served it with distinction and in high position—both in military and civilian life. That they continued after the war to render significant service in government, in the law, in the ministry, and in other areas is a tribute to the inspiration of their parents and a proof of their family genius.

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Blitzkrieg, 1863: Morgan's Raid and Rout

JOHN S. STILL

FOR TWO WEEKS IN JULY, 1863, one man's flagrant defiance of specific orders electrified the South and stunned the North. His actions were as infuriating to Braxton Bragg as they were exasperating to Ambrose Burnside, and they put the name of John Hunt Morgan on every tongue in Ohio. For the first and only time, the war was ushered across the threshold of Ohio homes, and by many southern Ohio communities Morgan's Raid would long be regarded as the high point of the Civil War.

A native Alabamian but long a resident of Kentucky, John Morgan much preferred to thrust his feet into a pair of stirrups than to shuffle them restlessly beneath the desk from behind which he supervised his woolen factory at Lexington. Quite logically, he entered Confederate service early in the war as captain of his own cavalry company. A six-footer with neatly trimmed light brown hair and beard, Morgan was an impressive figure. His dignity and bearing belied his reputation as a swashbuckling cavalier, but the audacity and daring of his operations gave impetus to the legends that quickly surrounded him.¹ Well before his thirty-eighth birthday on June 1, 1863, Morgan was a brigadier of cavalry whose bold, sweeping raids through Kentucky had already made him a popular hero in the South. He would eventually be bracketed with Jeb Stuart and Nathan Bedford Forrest as the Confederacy's great triumvirate of cavalry leaders but, in a sense, Morgan was even more than this. As the *Richmond Dispatch* put it following his capture, "The pride of the people was very much interwoven with the achievements of Morgan."²

¹ Cecil Fletcher Holland, *Morgan and His Raiders* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1943), p. 5. This volume and Basil W. Duke's *History of Morgan's Cavalry* (Cincinnati: Miami Printing & Publishing Co., 1867) are basic to any study of Morgan's Raid. Certain other books and articles, some of which are cited in succeeding pages, are useful but often the information is incorrect. In addition, they are frequently more extreme in their criticism of Morgan than are Holland and Duke in their friendly treatment. Holland's bibliography includes numerous works related to the raid.

² July 27, 1863. Quoted in Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

In the summer of 1863, he was a symbol with which a recently jolted people could identify itself.

At Chancellorsville in May the South had sustained the first in a rapid-fire series of staggering blows. Although the battle itself was a great victory for the Confederates, it had claimed the life of Stonewall Jackson. Vicksburg was still holding out before Grant's hammering, but its eventual capitulation, occurring at the same time that a little town called Gettysburg was achieving unexpected prominence, left Southern morale desperately in need of revitalization.

John Morgan, long anxious to carry the conflict into the North, conceived and proposed his memorable raid early in June. It would be purely a military operation with no intention of seizing and holding enemy cities and with no expectation of fomenting an uprising among the Copperheads or other disaffected Northerners.³ It was common knowledge that General Burnside, commanding the Department of the Ohio, was assembling a force at Cincinnati with which to invade east Tennessee. This would enable General William S. Rosecrans to attack General Bragg, who was lying south of Murfreesboro with 47,000 men. Morgan's sole purpose was to harass and divert Burnside by sweeping northwest through Kentucky and clockwise through southern Indiana and Ohio, ultimately recrossing the Ohio River or joining Lee in Pennsylvania if the latter's campaign was successful.⁴

Bragg authorized the raid but he forbade Morgan to cross the Ohio.⁵ Morgan probably was not surprised, for he knew that Bragg, besides being personally hostile to him, reflected the widely held view that cavalry should be used primarily as scouts rather than as a mobile striking force.⁶ Major General Joseph Wheeler, from his headquarters at Cleveland, Tennessee, approved Morgan's request to take 2,000 men, rather than 1,500, but he later denied any knowledge of the Kentuckian's intention of invading Indiana and Ohio.⁷ That Morgan deliberately planned to disregard his instructions was verified by his brother-in-law, Basil W. Duke, who commanded one of Morgan's two brigades.⁸ When the critical moment arrived, Morgan, with the wholehearted assent of his subordinate officers, knew precisely what his next move would be.

On the morning of July 2nd Morgan's men (as they proudly called themselves) were poised on the south bank of the Cumberland River a few miles above the Tennessee border. Their number had mushroomed to 2,460. They crossed the swollen Cumberland in the vicinity of Burkesville and the great adventure was underway.'

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-20; Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

⁴ Duke, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 410.

⁶ Holland, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.

⁸ Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

In five days Morgan knifed upward through Kentucky, fighting a costly engagement with some of the Federal cavalry with which General Henry M. Judah was patrolling the state, capturing and paroling Federal garrisons in several towns along the way, and seeing Tom, his youngest brother, shot in a skirmish at Lebanon. Having learned by tapping the telegraph lines that a trip was being prepared for him at Louisville, Morgan feinted in that direction and dashed for Brandenburg on the Ohio River.

Awaiting him were two steamboats, the *J. J. McCoombs* and the *Alice Dean*, commandeered by an advance detachment sent ahead for that purpose. Although impeded by gunfire from the Indiana side and by the arrival of a small tinclad, the ferrying was finally completed by midnight of July 8th. At Corydon, on his second night in Indiana, Morgan learned belatedly of Lee's reversal at Gettysburg.⁹ It was now all the more imperative that the operation succeed, not only to assure the raiders' safe return but also to cushion the double shock of Vicksburg and Gettysburg. Aware that Judah's cavalry under General Edward H. Hobson was perhaps less than a day behind him, Morgan quickened his pace. At the same time, he planted false rumors with temporary captives who, upon their release, promptly relayed them to federal authorities. As a result, Indianapolis and other cities prepared for an attack which never came, for Morgan rode north only as far as Salem and then veered off to the northeast. Still there was not the slightest suspicion of Morgan's intention. The official reaction to the raid was a prolonged series of misinterpretations based on limited vision and failure to ascribe even to John Morgan such incredible audacity. Initially some asserted that he had crossed the Ohio only to elude the pursuing Hobson. This theory was later exploded by Basil Duke, who termed it "perhaps the most preposterous . . . of all the many wildly and utterly absurd ideas which have prevailed regarding the late war. . . ." ¹⁰ With Hobson fifty miles to the rear, escape over familiar Kentucky roads would have been a simple matter. Then, as Morgan was reported at various points in southeastern Indiana, it apparently never occurred to Burnside or anyone else in authority that their quarry would even approach Cincinnati. First, Burnside prevented the Louisville packets from leaving the Queen City, fearing that Morgan would force them to ferry his men back to Kentucky. Next, he decided that the raiders would attempt a crossing at or near Aurora, Indiana. Only on Sunday, July 12th, when some Cincinnatians began to show alarm and the mayor requested that business be suspended, did Burnside declare martial law in the city.¹¹

⁹ Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

¹⁰ Duke, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-29.

¹¹ Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the War* (2 vols.; Columbus: Eclectic Publishing Co., 1893), I, 138-39.

Monday's newspapers carried a proclamation from Ohio's governor, David Tod, calling to active duty the militia in thirty-two southern Ohio counties. Long before they had an opportunity to read this, some Ohioans were staring with incredulity and then running for cover. Morgan was in Ohio! He appeared without warning early in the afternoon of the 13th at Harrison, barely inside the Indiana line. After permitting his men and their mounts to rest two or three hours, he let it be known that his objective was Hamilton to the northeast. By the time the news began to filter into Cincinnati, Morgan's whereabouts was shrouded in mystery. During Monday night, while he was being reported in half a dozen places, Morgan was leading his men through the very suburbs of Cincinnati!¹²

"It was a terrible, trying march," recalled Colonel Duke. "Strong men fell out of their saddles, and at every halt the officers were compelled to move continually about in their respective companies and pull and haul the men who would drop asleep in the road. . . ."¹³ Pausing within sight of Camp Dennison soon after daybreak on Tuesday, they fed their horses, skirmished with the pickets, and burned a number of Federal wagons. Then, resuming their march, they advanced through Batavia to Williamsburg, twenty-eight miles east of Cincinnati, by four o'clock in the afternoon. In thirty-five grueling hours they had come more than ninety miles through heat, darkness, and enemy country—"the greatest march that even Morgan had ever made," according to Duke.¹⁴

General Burnside, having recovered from his consternation over what had appeared to be Cincinnati's narrow escape (although Morgan had never contemplated entering the city), was still bewildered by the entire sequence of events. Prevented by Morgan's actions from proceeding with his plans for the Tennessee campaign, he was further aggravated by the Kentuckian's elusiveness. Hobson was having little success in narrowing the gap, partly because of the poor horses available to him; Morgan's men found the horses in Indiana and Ohio to be far inferior to their own and, when they abandoned their stolen mounts, the unfortunate animals were virtually exhausted.¹⁵ In addition, although the raiders had been eating well by foraging off the countryside and by helping themselves in homes along the way, the Federal troops were actually being overwhelmed by vast quantities of food. During their march through Indiana and Ohio, one Union veteran recalled, "the troopers were fed with nearly a hundred meals a day for three weeks and each meal consisted of fried chicken,

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 139-43.

¹³ Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 444-45.

blackberry pie, crabapple jelly and home-made biscuit, hot from the oven, all washed down with sweet milk or buttermilk."¹⁶ This well-meant hospitality inevitably slowed Hobson's progress.

Meanwhile, the companies of militia taking the field were endowed more with enthusiasm than with experience. Ohio had responded so generously to the calls for volunteers for the Union Army that few able-bodied young men with any inclination to fight were left at home. As a result, the militia consisted largely of old men, young boys, and men who were physically unfit for regular service. They turned out 50,000-strong to protect their homes and to try to capture this ogre who had appeared in their midst—"The King of Horse Thieves," they called him, and "Morgan, The Great Freebooter." As the raiders penetrated deeper into Ohio, they bypassed towns whenever possible, avoiding skirmishes which would have delayed them. Here and there a brush with the militia occurred but, for the most part, the volunteers had to be content with bushwhacking the column as it rode along, usually sniping from vantage points at road intersections. Each day a few of Morgan's men were killed and others wounded.

The confusion which characterized the campaign against Morgan was evident from the highest levels of authority downward. Governor Tod, asserting that only the concentration of troops at Camp Chase near Columbus had deterred Morgan from looting the state treasury, predicted that the invaders might yet strike north to Lake Erie. The Confederates, their strength now reduced by casualties and desertions to less than 2,000, were reported by Burnside himself as numbering 4,000 while a militia officer placed the figure at exactly 4,750. Some of the defensive measures adopted must have appeared ludicrous afterward even to those who were responsible for them. Militia from Camp Dennison, for example, abandoned the chase near Batavia and felled trees across the road to block Morgan in case he retraced his steps. And at Chillicothe the torch was put to a bridge over easily fordable Paint Creek when an overzealous sentry mistakenly identified some home guards as raiders.¹⁷

Morgan and his men were still driving relentlessly eastward, bent upon ultimate escape but only after disrupting the status quo in Ohio as much as possible. Sending his brother, Colonel Richard Morgan, south through Georgetown with his regiment, he moved the main body of his force east from Williamsburg on Wednesday, July 15th.¹⁸ Angling slightly south-

¹⁶ Anonymous Union veteran, "John Morgan Raid in Ohio," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XVII (January, 1908), 52.

¹⁷ Reid, *op. cit.*, I, 144.

¹⁸ Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 445. Morgan's exact route is often difficult to pinpoint because Duke and other writers mention only the principal towns through which the raiders passed. Newspapers are helpful but frequently unreliable. Most valid is the *Report of the Commissioners of Morgan Raid Claims* (Columbus: Richard Nevins,



The route of General John H. Morgan's cavalry during the Ohio raid, July 13-26, 1863.

east across Brown County, the raiders trooped through the hamlets of Mt. Orab and Sardinia, and reached Winchester in Adams County shortly after noon. An hour later they were swallowed up by the hill country to the east, having already ridden more than twenty-five miles from Williamsburg. Richard Morgan's regiment, meanwhile, was swinging south through Georgetown to Ripley on the Ohio, then up through West Union.¹⁹

As they thundered into one terrified town after another, the raiders burned bridges and depots, tore up railroad tracks, stole horses, and plundered stores. They seldom damaged houses but the wanton pillaging which marked their course through Indiana and Ohio earned them both the sobriquet "freebooters" and the undying hatred of their victims. No less an authority than their own Colonel Duke freely admitted the virtually unrestrained looting. The officers' attempts to prevent it were futile, he said, for:

This disposition for wholesale plunder exceeded any thing that any of us had ever seen before. The men seemed actuated by a desire to "pay off" in the "enemy's country" all scores that the Federal army had chalked up in the South. The great cause for apprehension, which our situation might have inspired, seemed only to make them reckless. Calico was the staple article of appropriation—each man (who would get one) tied a bolt of it to his saddle, only to throw it away and get a fresh one at the first opportunity. They did not pillage with any sort of method or reason—it seemed to be a mania, senseless and purposeless. One man carried a bird-cage, with three canaries in it, for two days. Another rode with a chafing-dish, which looked like a small metallic coffin, on the pommel of his saddle, until an officer forced him to throw it away. Although the weather was intensely warm, another, still, slung seven pairs of skates around his neck, and chuckled over his acquisition. I saw very few articles of real value taken—they pillaged like boys robbing an orchard. I would not have believed that such a passion could have been developed, so ludicrously, among any body of civilized men. At Piketon, Ohio, some days later, one man broke through the guard posted at a store, rushed in (trembling with excitement and avarice), and filled his pockets with horn buttons. They would (with few

1865), which provides a county-by-county breakdown and lists the towns in which the claimants resided. The route traced in these pages is that of the bulk of Morgan's force. On many occasions, of course, small groups fanned out over the countryside, foraging and stealing horses.

¹⁹ *Highland Weekly News* (Hillsborough), July 23, 1863.

exceptions) throw away their plunder after awhile, like children tired of their toys.²⁰

The two elements of the force apparently converged in the vicinity of Locust Grove. Between them, they had fairly thoroughly scoured Adams County in their quest for horses and booty. Their success is borne out by the *Report of the Commissioners of Morgan Raid Claims*, which reveals that citizens of Adams County sustained property losses at the hands of the raiders amounting to \$55,312. Only Clermont County, in which Batavia and Williamsburg are located, suffered greater loss and that by a mere \$242. For about a day the Confederates' exact schedule is obscured by conflicting newspaper reports but sometime on Thursday they reached the Scioto River, more than halfway across the southern part of the state. After ransacking Jasper, they crossed the Scioto and swarmed into Piketon. When threatened strong opposition from the militia failed to materialize there, the calico-laden column set out again on Thursday evening. Forty-five miles farther east, after an all-night ride, they rampaged into Jackson. From there most of the raiders turned southeast to Vinton while a small detachment proceeded northeast toward Wilkesville where they spent Friday night.²¹ Between Jackson and Wilkesville, near the hamlet of Berlin, the raiders encountered a concentration of militia. The ensuing skirmish is worthy of mention principally because it was subsequently described by a participant on each side whose accounts present differing opinions as to the relative significance of the militia's operations. To Basil Duke it was just one of many skirmishes in which a few of their men were killed or wounded; he attached no strategic importance to the affair, noting only that a Tom Murphy, known as the "Wild Irishman," was severely wounded.²² On the other hand, a sergeant in the First Pickaway Regiment, writing a few days later, credited the militia with saving the Marietta and Cincinnati Railroad and with forcing Morgan toward Buffington Island (which was, in fact, his objective). The Pickaway County boys (except for some suddenly afflicted with "Morgan diarrhea"), together with some Zanesville sharpshooters and Fayette County militia, had braced themselves for a pitched battle, and the raiders' refusal to oblige them was construed as a great victory for the home guards. The "Bloody First's" twelve-day campaign was studded with exciting experiences, including train rides over hazardous trestles and having their steamboat run aground in the Muskingum River, but their supreme thrill came from the "Battle of Berlin Heights."²³

²⁰ Duke, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-37.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 445; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 16, 17, 18, and 23, 1863.

²² Duke, *op. cit.*

²³ C. C. Enn [C. C. Neibling], *The Bloody First; or Twelve Days with the 1st Pickaway Throwing "Paw Paws" at John Morgan* (Circleville, Ohio: *Circleville Democrat*, 1863), *passim*.

Another twenty miles brought the raiders to Pomeroy on the Ohio River on Saturday, the 18th, but the clock was beginning to run out for John Morgan. Now, for the first time, Federal troops were joining the militia in harassing his force, and Morgan knew that he must soon effect a crossing. With Buffington Ford (one of the crossings he had had investigated weeks before) as his goal, he struck out northeastward across the toe of land which pushes the Ohio River to the south below Pomeroy. At Chester, early in the afternoon, he squandered ninety minutes searching for a guide, and the delay had fatal consequences. Darkness was falling as the raiders neared the ford, which they learned to their dismay was guarded by 300 Federal soldiers. Morgan was faced with the unhappy alternatives of attacking the earthworks at night, hoping to be able to overrun them and to negotiate a safe crossing before morning, or of waiting for daylight and possible stronger opposition. Hobson, he knew, was close behind him and Judah's cavalry, reinforced by gunboats, was coming up from the south. The immediate risk—that of a nighttime attack and crossing—seemed greater, so Morgan elected to wait. Discovering in the morning that the earthworks had been evacuated under cover of darkness, he was on the verge of commencing the crossing when he lost his gamble. Judah's cavalry attacked two regiments guarding the Pomeroy road, and Hobson's advance under General J. M. Shackelford moved in from Chester. Exhausted from the strain of fifteen-days' hard riding, low on ammunition, and outnumbered three or four to one, Morgan's men were no match for the avenging blue wave. Duke's regiments bought precious time for Morgan who led about 1,200 of his men out of the valley. Then, with shells from the gunboats hissing over their heads, the remaining Confederates gave way before the onslaught of the Seventh Michigan Cavalry and the Battle of Buffington Island was over. Seven hundred raiders were taken prisoner, among them Colonels Duke and Morgan. On the following day they were marched ten miles to a transport and taken down the river to Cincinnati.²⁴

Morgan's Raid had ended; the rout had begun. Escape was the only objective now. Overwhelmed at Buffington, Morgan tried again about fifteen miles above the island. Some 300 of his men had crossed safely, and some others had drowned in the attempt, when the Federal gunboats abruptly intervened. Morgan himself is said to have been in midstream and to have returned voluntarily to the stranded remnant of his com-

²⁴ Duke, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-53; Holland, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-47. An intriguing aspect of the Battle of Buffington Island was the unusual sight of gunboats fighting cavalry. Had it not been for the ingenuity of Lt. Comdr. LeRoy Fitch, the tinclads probably would not have been on the scene. Fitch and some of his men devised a scheme for getting the vessels over sand bars in the river which blocked their progress. Called "jumping," the procedure involved placing two spars down from the bow, heaving taut, and applying steam, thus hoisting the ship up and over the bar as if on crutches. [Fletcher Pratt, *Civil War on Western Waters* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., c 1958), 176-77].

mand.²⁵ With fewer than 900 men he launched a desperate week-long flight over a tortuous route through nearly two-thirds of eastern Ohio. He still held one meager advantage which delayed his capture—the Federal troops could pursue him hotly, as they were doing, but it was difficult to intercept him because even Morgan himself did not know where he would turn next. When they attempted to block him by guarding the crossings over the Muskingum River, he found one unwatched and slipped through the cordon. On another occasion, he and his men extricated themselves from an apparently hopeless situation by leading their horses at night up a narrow branch of a spring and over a mountain.²⁶

From the vicinity of Reedsville on the Ohio River, Morgan struck out inland across northern Meigs County late on Sunday, the 19th. Even more assiduously than before he now avoided towns where he was likely to encounter militia, for he had no time to fight except as a last resort. A day's riding brought the fugitive raiders back into the iron-furnace district of southern Vinton County. They camped near Valley Furnace Monday night and pressed northward over the rugged terrain on Tuesday. Fresh horses were still a necessity so they continued to steal any that could be found, but no longer was there any desire for calico or bird cages. On they rode past Eagle Furnace and Vinton Station.²⁷ At one o'clock Wednesday morning they skirted the town of Zaleski in a heavily forested section.²⁸ Five hours later they were observed between the hamlets of Mt. Pleasant and New Plymouth, moving northeast toward Nelsonville in Athens County.²⁹ The citizens of the town of Athens, thirteen miles from Nelsonville, were allegedly frightened by a preposterous rumor making the rounds of the militia. It was reported that John Morgan had once been a student at Marietta College and had been jailed for some heinous offense. Now he had sworn revenge and had vowed not to leave one stone upon another in Marietta and, for some unfathomable reason, in Athens, as well.³⁰

Hard riding on Wednesday took the weary band through Nelsonville and New Straitsville to a point a few miles south of Taylorsville on the Muskingum.³¹ Now Zanesville, only fifteen miles distant, was filled with alarm. Morgan and his men were more interested in crossing the Muskingum, however, and the citizens of Zanesville breathed a sigh of relief when the Confederates found the vulnerable spot for which they had been probing. They crossed at Eagleport on Thursday, fought off attackers near Blue Rock, and pushed onward to Cumberland.³²

²⁵ Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

²⁷ *McArthur Democrat*, July 23, 1863.

²⁸ *Highland Weekly News* [Hillsborough], July 23, 1863.

²⁹ *McArthur Democrat*, July 23, 1863.

³⁰ *Enn, op. cit.*, p. 3.

³¹ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 23, 1863; *Zanesville Daily Courier*, July 23, 1863.

³² *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 23, 1863; *Zanesville Daily Courier*, July 24, 1863.

Their northeasterly course brought them on Friday morning to Campbell Station, a few miles east of Cambridge on the National Road. Following this artery of travel, they were in Old Washington at 10:00 a.m. and Hendrysburg six hours later. Then, doubling back, they bore to the northwest to Antrim. Shortly after midnight they were on the march again, east about thirty miles to Harrisville, groping for the Ohio River. With Cadiz hastily preparing for an invasion, Morgan and his men veered off to Smithfield, Wintersville, and Richmond, bypassing Steubenville. At Wintersville they were within five miles of the river, their closest approach to escape since leaving Reedsville six days earlier.³³ Saturday night they stayed at Bergholz, sleeping in mills or out in the open.³⁴ This was their last night of freedom.

As Morgan was breakfasting on Sunday morning, July 26th, Federal cavalry were closing in on him from the south. In desperation the raiders fled north to Salineville where Shackelford's advance overtook and attacked them. Once more Morgan slipped from his pursuers' grasp, although part of his command was captured. After confounding Shackelford by heading westward, he swung to the northeast accompanied now by James Burbick, a professed captain of militia at nearby Lisbon, who agreed to guide Morgan to the river in return for his guarantee not to molest any property in Columbiana County. They were nearing West Point, about ten miles northwest of East Liverpool, when Morgan noticed an approaching cloud of dust on another road. In a last-minute strategic move, he surrendered to the astonished Burbick on condition that the raiders be paroled and be permitted to keep their horses and, in the case of the officers, their side arms, as well. Morgan was taken into custody by Major George W. Rue of the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry, who refused to honor the surrender terms. General Shackelford later concurred with Rue. Morgan then appealed to Governor Tod, as commander in chief of the militia, but Tod rejected the plea after investigating the circumstances.³⁵

The rout which had begun at Buffington Island a week before had finally run its course.³⁶ The shattered remnant of Morgan's proud division was escorted to Wellsville and ultimately by train to Cincinnati.

³³ *Cadiz Republican*, July 25, 27, and 29, 1863; *Belmont Chronicle* [St. Clairsville], July 30, 1863.

³⁴ J. H. Simms, *Morgan's Raid and Capture* (East Liverpool, Ohio: J. H. Simms, c 1913), *passim*.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; Duke, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-58; *Cadiz Republican*, July 29, 1863.

³⁶ By chance, Morgan slept on Saturday night only about ten miles from Carrollton, the home of the "Fighting McCooks," one of whom, elderly Maj. Daniel McCook, had been killed at Buffington Island. Also, by a peculiar coincidence of which Morgan was undoubtedly oblivious, his route through Ohio had taken him within twenty miles (usually closer than that) of Grant's birthplace at Pt. Pleasant, Sherman's at Lancaster, Sheridan's home at Somerset, Stanton's birthplace at Steubenville, and Custer's at New Rumley.

Basil Duke and the other officers captured at Buffington had already been transferred to the prison on Johnson's Island in Lake Erie, but some of them would soon be reunited with their leader. Because most of the officers of the 111th Ohio were attending the theater on the evening of July 27th, a young lieutenant found himself commanding the detail which herded Morgan and his staff from the Little Miami Railroad station to the Cincinnati jail. He proceeded to the depot, he related to a friend, where:

I met as prisoner of war the celebrated horsethief General John H. Morgan—A man perhaps forty five—six feet two inches high, weighing about two hundred and twenty pounds, with brown hair rather good looking or what some would call handsome, but at the same time appearing with much dignity and treating subordinates like myself with perhaps a little to much dignity for his own good—

We took him & Staff about thirty in all out of the Cars placed them in a hollow square of soldiers and took up our line of march for the prison distant about two & half or three miles, and through the greatest crowd I ever saw, and apparently determined to have Morgan delivered to them that they might deal with him to suit themselves—So great was the excitement I expected to be mobbed because I would not permit the citizens to crowd in on the guard, preventing the same by keeping an extra guard on all sides and compelling them to walk at a charge bayonets the citizens not liking the looks of said steel, but we finally succeeded in lodging him within the walls of the prison where he remained until he was sent to Columbus. . . .³⁷

Morgan was dressed in a linen coat, black trousers, white shirt, and a light felt hat.³⁸ His twenty-four harrowing days in the saddle had not robbed him of his poise, but there was little about his appearance or manner to suggest the ferocious, bloodthirsty brigand he was purported to be. With Tod's approval, General Halleck in Washington ordered that Morgan and his officers be imprisoned in Ohio Penitentiary at Columbus. On July 30th they entered the penitentiary where they were confined for four months, receiving the same treatment as common criminals, including the indignity of having their heads and beards shaved. Their imprisonment and its outcome are another story, or at least a sequel to the present

³⁷ Lt. Rudolph Williams to Annie F. Howells, August 6, 1863 (mss, Rutherford B. Hayes Library, Fremont, Ohio).

³⁸ Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 252 ff.

subject. It may be mentioned here, however, that the poor liaison between civil and military authorities worked to the advantage of the resourceful Confederates. Discovering an air chamber beneath their cell block, they gained access to it by breaking through the floor. In the next three weeks they tunneled through twenty feet of dirt and a four-foot stone wall, using crude and homemade tools. On the night of November 27, 1863, exactly four months after their arrival at Cincinnati, Morgan and six of his officers crawled through the tunnel, scaled the outer wall of the penitentiary, and disappeared into the darkness. All but one of the seven boarded a passenger train bound for Cincinnati. Morgan and his traveling companion, Captain Thomas H. Hines, left the train in the outskirts of Cincinnati, paid a boy to ferry them across the Ohio, and eventually reached their destinations safely. For Morgan this was Columbia, South Carolina, where his wife, recovering from serious illness, awaited him. Then to Richmond, ultimate reassignment to duty, and his anticlimactic death during a skirmish in Greeneville, Tennessee, on September 4, 1864. It was a Sunday morning, as it had been when fate overtook John Morgan at Buffington Island and West Point.

Any appraisal of Morgan and his dramatic foray through Ohio must inevitably inspire controversy, even after nearly a century. Descendants of Morgan's victims, their opinions colored by family tradition and local history, can scarcely be expected to revere his name or to respect him for his more admirable qualities. Legitimate military operations are often accompanied by unjustifiable acts, and Morgan was held accountable not only for the theft of horses and burning of bridges but also for the unsanctioned looting of stores and occasional more serious depredations by individuals, including murder. It must be conceded in his favor, however, that his *modus operandi* did not include the wanton destruction of homes and the wholesale ravaging of the countryside. Credence must be accorded the testimony of a man like J. E. MacGowan, a colonel in the Union troops pursuing Morgan and later a prominent editor. MacGowan wrote:

Morgan was as considerate of the rights of the people of Ohio and Indiana as any raiders were on either side, under like circumstances. . . . The charges of murder, cruelty and the like will be given the lie by every Federal who fell into Morgan's hands as a prisoner. He was generous and considerate towards enemies he captured. The nonsense about his "predatory invasion" of the North is in some features of it complimentary to Morgan's strategic ability and shrewdness, and the rest of it is untrue as well as foolish. . . . We have yet to hear of any cruelty being practiced pursuant to Morgan's order. Of course, he had cruel, cow-

ardly men under him who misbehaved on some occasions, but never by his order that any one has yet proven.³⁹

Morgan's uncompromising critics would do well to consider the *Report of the Commissioners of Morgan Raid Claims*, a detailed listing of losses and expenses sustained by Ohioans during Morgan's two weeks at large in the state. Included are a variety of items ranging downward in value from the \$4,110 bridge at Chillicothe to two buckets for fifty cents. The claims, from 4,375 people in twenty nine counties, are grouped in three categories: property taken, destroyed, or injured by Rebel forces, by Union forces, and by the militia. It is interesting to note, in the tabulation of claims allowed, that while the damages attributed to Morgan and his men amounted to \$428,168, Union forces were charged with a sizeable \$141,855 worth. Members of the militia were held responsible for \$6,202, with the claim for the bridge rejected because of inadequate proof of responsibility. The commissioners praised the conduct of the militia in general, but strongly condemned incidents such as the plundering of a woman's house in Jackson County by two companies of militia from Vinton County.

From a military standpoint, Morgan achieved his initial goal, although at an exorbitant price. He diverted Burnside at Cincinnati and caused a considerable delay in the reinforcement of Rosecrans. His campaign aided Bragg's withdrawal from middle Tennessee and hurt Rosecrans at Chickamauga. During the raid he captured and paroled nearly 6,000 Northerners, killed more than 200, and wounded at least 350. On the other hand, his own command was shattered. Of his commissioned officers, 28 were killed and 35 wounded; 250 men were killed or wounded.⁴⁰ Except for the 300 or so who escaped across the Ohio on July 19th, and some who deserted in the early days of the raid, most of the others were captured. Notwithstanding its outcome, Morgan's Raid inspired the South in a tragic hour. As the *Richmond Enquirer* pointed out, "Some weak spirits will pronounce this aggressive expedition a foolhardy enterprise, judging Morgan by what he has failed to accomplish, not by what he has already achieved in this mission of destruction. It is true that we can ill spare the services of the great chief and his noble band at the present time, but we ought to be content with this illuminated page which they have contributed to the volume of Confederate history."⁴¹ Basil Duke, whose account is logically pro-Morgan but surprisingly impartial for one who was second-in-command to the General, reflected the opinion of Morgan's men when he wrote:

³⁹ *Chattanooga Times*, July 29, 1863, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 239-40.

⁴⁰ Don D. John, *The Great Indiana-Ohio Raid . . .* (Louisville: Book Nook Press, n.d.), p. 6.

⁴¹ July 31, 1863. Quoted in Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

To have, in our turn, been invaders, to have carried the war north of the Ohio, to have taught the people, who for long months had been pouring invading hosts into the South, something of the agony and terror of invasion—to have made them fly in fear from their homes, although they returned to find those homes not laid in ashes; to have scared them with the sound of hostile bugles, although no signals were sounded for flames and destruction—these luxuries were cheap at almost any price. It would have been an inexpressible shame, if in all the Confederate army, there had been no body of men found to carry the war, however briefly, across the Ohio and Morgan by this raid saved us, at least, that disgrace.⁴²

For whatever consolation it may have been to Morgan's men, no other Confederate force penetrated so far north during the entire war.

Bravery and endurance were not, of course, virtues found exclusively in Morgan's ill-fated division. General Hobson's Federal cavalry, in pursuing the raiders over nearly a thousand miles through Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio, exhibited similar qualities. They also had the reassuring advantage, however, of riding through friendly territory and not being constantly exposed to snipers' bullets. Poor communications and jaded horses prolonged the chase but other factors were equally important. With due credit to Morgan's ingenuity and skill as a tactician, the raid might well have been brought to an earlier conclusion had Burnside possessed any imagination and foresight and had Ohio been adequately prepared for such an emergency. A well-trained militia capable of forcing Morgan to make a stand could have played a far more significant role in having brought him to bay.

Morgan the man was neither saint nor devil. He has been praised by his biographers and pilloried (especially in the immediate post war years) by Northern writers. One of the latter characterized Morgan as "the impetuous hand which guided and nerved this lawless band, as it swept a tornado path of destruction through three States," sternly shooting down any man who offered resistance or remonstrance.⁴³ The *Chicago Tribune* expressed not only its own editorial opinion but, to a great extent, that of the Northern public in reporting Morgan's death in 1864: "John Morgan has suddenly passed unto death, much to the regret of associate horse thieves and peace sneaks."⁴⁴

Perhaps an insight into Morgan's character may best be gained from some of the letters he penned to his bride of less than a year from his

⁴² Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

⁴³ John S. C. Abbott, "The Pursuit and Capture of Morgan," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXI (August, 1865), 290, 292.

⁴⁴ September 7, 1864. Quoted in Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

cell in Ohio Penitentiary. Deeply in love and worried about the approaching birth of their first child (it was born dead in November), Morgan wrote often and with great feeling. Two weeks after his capture, he encouraged her to bear up under their separation, like a soldier's wife, and he promised to hasten to her as soon as he was released. He continued:

Rec'd a box of nice clothing from Mother yesterday & today a long letter, a great portion of it being devoted to you "My Sweet Wife." She says she has heard glowing accounts of you & above all that you are a Christian. I wrote her today that, by your example & advice, I was a much better man, that the little prayer book that you presented me upon our marriage had been my constant companion ever since, & that a night has not passed but that I have read it.⁴⁵

Scarcely a letter reached his beloved Mattie that did not include sentiments like these: "But for the uncertainty of your condition, I could bear this incarceration with a much greater degree of stoicism. . . . Farewell my darling. Ten thousand blessings accompany this. Think of me often and know that my entire devotion and love are all yours" and "Good night and God's blessing rest upon 'My Precious One.' My light will be extinguished in a few moments and I must read a psalm."⁴⁶

This was Morgan, freebooter, horse thief, guerrilla chieftain, cutthroat, and scourge of the North.

⁴⁵ August 10, 1863. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 259-60.

⁴⁶ September 13 and August 12, 1863. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 261, 260.

John Weatherford served for three years as manuscripts librarian of the Ohio Historical Society and on July 1, 1957, became assistant to the director of libraries at Miami University.

Ohio and the Civil War In Manuscripts

JOHN WEATHERFORD

TO BEGIN WITH A *caveat*: there are many reasons for staying away from Civil War manuscripts. The published materials seem prodigious enough to keep anyone so busy that he need not go looking for unprinted trouble. Looking for letters and diaries concerning Ohio and the Civil War is a task easily begun but never finished. No one knows how many of them still lie in the trunks of descendants of veterans who long since have moved from Ohio westward. Still other letters and diaries are hidden in the safes of private collectors. Even those in libraries are an unknown quantity, since local societies and even small public libraries sometimes hoard manuscripts. Add to these the soldiers' diaries left buried in the South like the men who wrote them, and it is easy to see that we shall never have a complete list.

Moreover, those manuscripts which do come to light are sometimes illegible, often illiterate, and frequently uninformative. Not the least difficulty in their use arises from the fact that often the curators who have to care for them are jacks of all centuries and masters of no decade, and but green recruits to the Civil War. However, many of the unpublished manuscripts are well-worth an examination. In general these appeal to two distinct types of Civil War students: those interested in Ohio's part in the war and those interested in the War in Ohio. They had best be discussed separately.

OHIO IN THE WAR

Ohio probably did more in the war than the war did in Ohio. Only New York and Pennsylvania put more men into the conflict. Only New York lost more. Sherman, Rosecrans, Buell, McPherson, Schenck, McDowell, Grant, Sheridan—all these and more are claimed by Ohio by birth

or adoption. Take away the Ohioans good and bad and the Union command is thinned as if by grape. But these great generals will not play a large part in this survey, for several reasons. First, a just consideration of them would take too much of our space. Second, there is such a general familiarity with them that any superficial observations would be common knowledge. Third, it does not seem to matter much whether they came from Ohio or not. States, like people, ought to eschew name-dropping. It may be useful, however, just to mention the location of some of these papers. Those of Grant, Sherman, and McPherson are in the Library of Congress, along with those of McClellan, whom more ardent Ohioans also claim. Schenck's papers are understood to be in private hands.

Not all commanders, of course, were so exalted that their names were on every tongue. The papers of James A. Garfield (Library of Congress) and of Rutherford B. Hayes (Hayes Library at Fremont, Ohio) are on the brigade level, as it were for our purposes. A few other examples from the Ohio Historical Society in Columbus will show what is to be hoped for among manuscripts of this kind. James S. Robinson has left about 200 letters with clear and detailed accounts of his experiences at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Atlanta, and Savannah. James M. Comly, a friend of Hayes and commander of the 23d Ohio Infantry, has left highly readable dispatches and memoirs of Hunter's Raid on Lynchburg and of the Battle of Winchester, as well as a detailed history of his regiment during the previous two years. T. C. H. Smith, an Ohioan on Pope's staff, has a great deal to say about the Second Battle of Bull Run. Those interested probably recall that this was a well-documented battle, due largely to the protracted and famous controversy between Pope and Fitz-John Porter over ascribing blame for the *débat*. Smith collected voluminous notes on Pope's behalf (including his own experiences) and wrote a history of the battle—a book designed to demonstrate Porter's dereliction. Both notes and book are unpublished.

As a final example may be cited John P. Sanderson's papers. Sanderson was on Rosecrans' staff. He kept a journal starting in July, 1863, sending the parts of it home for safekeeping, until he had a 700-page personal history of the Tennessee Campaign and of "Old Rosey," whom Sanderson much admired. Sanderson viewed Chickamauga from a hill where Rosecrans had set up headquarters. From this hill (until he had to flee from it) he could watch nearly the whole field as if it were a living map. From such hills, whether physical or hierarchial only, wrote the generals and their staffs. Even scribbled under a marquee, their letters and diaries can read like history books.

Predominantly by privates, the manuscripts do not always read like history books, or like any books at all. There are a great many grass-roots manuscripts. Not only did soldiers in the ranks write letters, which even

an uneventful absence would have prompted; but they wrote diaries which many would not have kept but for the sense that they were playing out history. Both are likely to be disappointing for a number of reasons. For example, one soldier wrote to his sister, "I dont want to show you the dark side of the picture. . . . It wont help *you* nor it wont help *me*." Consequently, what he does write does not help *us*. Here then is one thing wrong with letters home. Diaries too have their faults. It is not frivolous to say that one of these was the shirt-pocket size of the common manufactured diary book, with three days to a page. This arrangement left room for observations like "Rain" or "Diarea," but broke down under greater events. Anyone reading a shirt-pocket diary gets the feeling that its writer, when he comes to his part in Antietam or Resaca, would like to record more of the experience, but fears to overflow the bournes established by the printer of the diary book. The soldier comes to the printer's announcement of the next day, squeezes his writing, then turns at right angles to fill the margin, and when that gives out gives up rather than trespass on the future. Thus on the day after the battle he has room for "Pork." Lack of space and perhaps, too, a lack of energy at dusk made the soldier write short entries. For him they may have had a powerful mnemonic effect to the end of his days; for us the private code is lost forever and we are left only the drab jottings. Even these, however, may give us perspective—on soldiers if not on strategy. Here is a shirt-pocket example: "Monday April 10th. Rained hard last night & some today. Cooked bean soup & got my horse shod. Good news from Grant—Lee surrendered."

Still there were those below field grade who left useful manuscripts. A short list of the better ones at the Ohio Historical Society should not be tedious.

Booth, John T. This collection grew out of Dr. Booth's work on a history of the 36th Ohio Infantry, in which he had served as a sergeant. It includes copies and extracts of journals of several of his former comrades, as well as the history itself, which was never published. The 36th was one of Ohio's most battered regiments—Lewisburg, Second Manassas, Antietam, Chicamauga, Missionary Ridge, and Hunter's Raid are only the more conspicuous of its encounters. Dr. Booth missed none of them.

Browne, Symmes. Browne was a lieutenant on a Mississippi gunboat and served at Island No. 10, Fort Pillow, White River, New Madrid, and Vicksburg. Regular steamboat mails and an unremitting preoccupation with his fiancée back in Ohio led him to write generally every other day (and sometimes twice a day)—letters of from four to twelve pages each—for a couple of years. The letters endured literally through hell and high water

(the cliché seems particularly apt here) and stopped neither when Browne's gunboat was rammed nor when a direct hit on the steam-dome scalded most of the crew to death.

Constable, A. G. This is a statement of service, in which private Constable (who claimed to have been a captain in the British army) related his raising of an Ohio rifle company, his helping with the manufacture of guns at Cincinnati, and his activities on Foote's mortar boats.

Graham, James E. This lieutenant in the 80th Ohio Infantry began his diary at Vicksburg on the Fourth of July, during what he described as a "big spree" celebrating the Fourth and the fall of Vicksburg. The diary continued to the end of the war, via Missionary Ridge, Atlanta, and Columbia. The lieutenant had an enviable ability to find agreeable female companionship, even on the scorched earth, and a fine nose for hidden stores of bourbon. In spite of all diversions, he was careful to describe the fighting as he saw it. There are several vivid pages about Missionary Ridge.

Hull, Lewis Byram. Hull enlisted in the 60th Infantry for a year, in December, 1861, and began a diary. In September, 1862, he was captured and paroled at Bolivar Heights, Virginia. The diary is significant in that it shows the workings of the parole, and also some very poor discipline and morale.

Patterson, W. T. This commissary sergeant of the 116th Infantry had enough experiences between August and October, 1864 to fill 144 pages. He gives a piteous account of Sheridan's progress through the Shenandoah—Halltown, Berryville, Opequon—and of the consequent burning of civilian houses and goods.

Sanderson, John P. Although mentioned before in a different context, the colonel's manuscripts include his son's letters, which contain a detailed description of Shiloh. Ohio manuscripts seem to abound in views of Chickamauga but not of Shiloh.

Sexton, Samuel. The assistant surgeon of the 8th Ohio Infantry has left a surgeon's view of a regiment that fought at Winchester, Antietam, Front Royal, and other fields. He was not usually at the front, but his 200-page diary is full of hospital politics.

Strickling, Joseph M. Strickling enlisted at sixteen in the 39th Infantry, and progressed from New Madrid through Island No. 10, Iuka, Corinth,

Atlanta, Resaca, and Kenesaw Mountain to Columbia, where he watched the great fire. At Kenesaw Mountain Strickling was wounded in the leg. He walked back to the hospital tents and had the bad luck to find a drunken surgeon who decided to amputate and commanded the orderlies to hold Strickling down. Leaning with his back to a tree, Strickling held off orderlies and surgeon with his rifle until a sober surgeon passed by and let him keep his leg.

This list could be greatly extended without adding much to the general impression it has already created. The manuscripts themselves make only a mosaic, and the list can do no better.

THE WAR IN OHIO

Ohio luckily has few tales to tell of military events inside the state. When in 1862 it looked as if Kirby Smith might take Cincinnati, volunteer home guards sprang up from all over the state to defend their metropolis. These rustic fencibles with their antique arms were called "Squirrel Hunters." The Historical and Philosophical Society at Cincinnati has material on their brief but revealing show of enthusiasm.

The reckless incursion of Morgan's cavalry in July, 1863, left a wake not only of pillaged poultry yards but of excited citizens, some of whose diaries and letters have come to rest at the Historical and Philosophical Society. Papers relating to their claims for damages are in the state archives at Columbus, as are the telegrams of the adjutant general. Some of Morgan's dispatches are in the Library of Congress. Some of his letters recently went to the University of Kentucky.

Even though Ohio was spared the honor of battlefields, other sounds of war shook the state—quite aside from the echo at home of every casualty. Much of the raising and provisioning of troops rested with the state. The administrative problems arising from this situation appear in the papers of the wartime governors, Dennison, Tod, and Brough, at the State Historical Society at Columbus, and in the archives of the adjutant general. Ten days before the bombardment of Sumter the governor received a letter from an old pioneer who had raised every company in his town since he went off with General Hull in the War of 1812; now he wished to raise another one. Six days before the bombardment Charles Whittlesey wrote to the governor to raise 10,000 troops because Washington would be in rebel hands in two months and Congress would abandon the government. On the day of the bombardment E. Whitney, of Whitneyville, Connecticut, offered to furnish Ohio with minié muskets and rifles. Over the weekend, offers of companies came in to the governor. On Monday fifteen companies were offered, and some Cincinnati citizens urged a preventive occupation of Kentucky before the wrong people could establish themselves

on the hills opposite. Defend Ohio, they urged; New York and Pennsylvania can defend Washington. The evolution of the war effort from these beginnings to the end can be traced in the governors' papers in the Ohio Historical Society. They have been recently transferred to microfilm, and the Civil War part comes to nine reels.

War appeared in other ways as well. Confederate prisoners were sent to Camp Chase in Columbus and to Johnson's Island in Lake Erie. Letters from these prisons must be scattered all over the South, but the Rutherford B. Hayes Library in Fremont and the Ohio Historical Society are trying to bring together as many good ones as possible. The Hayes Library has photostats of Johnson's Island letters held by the North Carolina Historical Commission, Louisiana State University, and Duke University. The state society has about a score of letters from the Island, a list of prisoners, and a roll of Confederates who died there. As for Camp Chase, a private collector owns a curious notebook kept by a Theron D. Bakewell of his interviews with military and civilian prisoners there; he has kindly allowed the state society to film it.

In politics if in nothing else there was a war in Ohio, where a considerable minority opposed "Lincoln's war" and worked for peace with the South. The epithets "Butternut" and "Copperhead" only prolonged the confusion between loyal peace Democrats and the clandestine pro-Southern organizations. The distinction remains unclear even now. If only there were more manuscripts for clues! The state society has a few, such as a small collection of papers of Samuel Medary, editor of the violently anti-Lincoln *Columbus Crisis*. Here again, the governors' papers are helpful, and turning through two years to the black spring of 1863 we read of the draft, and of centers of resistance to it, and of a township in Knox County where deserters went armed to work in their fields. There are letters reporting on Copperhead activities, but many seem to be based on hearsay.

Colonel Sanderson's papers must be mentioned a third time, for after this old Ohio Whig left Rosecrans' staff he went to Missouri as provost marshal general in 1864. In this capacity he set counterspies on the secret subversive brotherhoods. He accumulated considerable evidence on the nature of the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Order of American Knights, and the even more ephemeral and mysterious Corps de Belgique—all fraternal orders apparently committed to aiding the South and erecting a Northwest Confederacy with the aid of Southern arms. Sanderson's investigation led him back to Ohio where (he maintained) the whole web of conspiracy centered on Clement L. Vallandigham, Democratic candidate for governor.

Ohioans who regard Vallandigham as a skeleton in the closet console themselves with the knowledge that the soldiers were overwhelmingly

against him. The soldiers' letters reflect this feeling. Only rarely did a soldier's family admonish him to take it easy because the Rebels were going to win anyway and not to get killed just to free Negroes. Of course those in the army were usually Unionists simply because those who were not Unionists stayed out of the army as much as possible. Copperheads represented an element in Midwestern sentiment that deserves more study; and more study awaits more manuscripts. Readers will recognize this comment for what it is—a shameless plea for Copperhead manuscripts.

Between the Civil War and the first World War there appeared many publications of Civil War diaries and memoirs of a kind that in other wars might be condemned to remain in manuscript form. The printed record may therefore comprise a larger than usual proportion of the total body of historical evidence available. But for all that, there are dark corners of the state, of the war, and of the private mind that manuscripts may yet help to illuminate.

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The Journal of Sergt. Wm. J. McKell

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

THERE ARE A LARGE NUMBER OF STORIES written by prisoners of war describing the privations and suffering of prison life, North and South, during the Civil War. The following narrative is similar in many respects to those told by others, but in this instance the author did not live to complete his journal. He died July 28, 1864, at Andersonville. The conclusion to the journal had to be written by a prisoner-companion and friend.

William James McKell, or "Jim" McKell as he was called at home, was a native of Chillicothe, Ohio. He was a first cousin of Lucy Webb Hayes, who was the wife of Rutherford B. Hayes, later the 19th President of the United States. Young McKell's mother was Phoebe Cook McKell, a sister of Maria Cook Webb, the mother of Mrs. Hayes.

Young McKell enlisted for three years in the 89th Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry, on August 13, 1862, and became a member of Company D. He was appointed sergeant on August 26, when the company was mustered in at Camp Dennison, near Miami, not far from Cincinnati. Enlisting with him were two first cousins, Edward T. Cook ("Ed") and Isaac S. Cook ("Ike"), both of whom served only about a year before being discharged on October 5, 1863 at Cincinnati on a surgeon's certificate of disability.

Another first cousin of William McKell's, Isaac Cook Nelson, became second lieutenant of Company D, the day following the mustering-in; four months later he was promoted to first lieutenant and subsequently to captain of the company.

William McKell's journal was copied lovingly and carefully by his mother for her other children, and a copy was given to Rutherford B. Hayes. It is now preserved in the Rutherford B. Hayes Library.

Watt P. Marchman

THE JOURNAL

CHICKAMAUGA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Our trip [to prison] commenced at Chickamauga, on Sept. 20th, 1863. We left our camp at Rossville, Saturday, the 19th temporarily attached to the Reserve Corps, commanded by Gen. G. Granger, and Div commanded by Gen. Steedman. Our regiment (89th Ohio Vol. Infy) and the 22nd Michigan, formed a temporary brigade; the colonel of the 22nd Mich. Infy, having command by right of seniority. We reached the scene of action some time before noon, when skirmishing took place between

our forces and the rebel cavalry on [Chickamauga] creek our skirmishers falling back under support of the batteries. Here the reb's were checked, and here we remained under arms during the night, suffering considerably from a heavy frost, and all of us being more or less wet from having waded the creek on our advance and again on falling back. The woods being in a blaze in our rear, small squads were allowed to go back and warm themselves.

Next morning (Sunday), we advanced, feeling for the rebel skirmishers, but none were to be found. Heavy firing was heard to our right, and Gen. Granger, finding the enemy had left his front, rightly concluded they must have massed on our center and that he was needed in that direction; so without waiting orders he began moving his corps rapidly to their assistance. His arrival was just in time to save the center which was then beginning to fall back. In passing to the right, we were part of the time in full view of the rebels and received several volleys of shot and shells from their batteries, which, however, did us no harm.

Our brigade arrived at the summit of Missionary Ridge, on the "double quick," and as we came up, a regiment in our front was falling back before a charge from a rebel brigade, carrying their wounded with them. We received orders to lie down allowing the regiment to pass over us. The rebels came on, flushed with their success, but were soon checked by a volley from our brigade, for which they were not looking. The lines wavered, broke and fell back, in confusion. We had a few moments then for taking care of wounded of whom we had a good number. Besides the fire from the front, there were batteries to our right and rear, which poured into us a constant shower of "grape," doing us much injury. In fifteen or twenty minutes after the first charge, we received another; the rebs having to fall back as before; after sustaining our fire from five to ten minutes. They were longer now in coming up, and when they made the next charge it was with the same result. Night was fast coming on and we found ourselves alone, our forces having fallen back and formed a new line around Rossville. We had our orders and while it was possible to hold the position, our commander refused to fall back. We were sacrificed, but our army was saved.

While we held the enemy in check, our forces formed a new line and intrenched themselves at Rossville. Thus they were enabled to check the rebels, and prevent our army being driven back across the "Tennessee." All firing had ceased around us, the sun had set, dusk was coming on, and the air being full of smoke, it was difficult to distinguish objects at a short distance. In our rear we could see a force coming up in line of battle which we first thought to be our own men coming to our relief; soon, however, we discovered our mistake, and at the time felt that our fate was sealed. Troops were coming up on all sides, and no ammunition in the

regiment. The rebel force closed around us, their officers giving the order not to fire; then commanding us to "lay down our arms, and surrender." We had surrendered, and were formed to march off the field, when another rebel force came up firing on their own men, and ours, theirs suffering most. This was on account of their taking their own men for us. They now commenced an active trade with our boys for canteens, haversacks, &c., which was kept up all along the road, until we stopped for the night. Our boys and the rebs were immediately on the best of terms recounting to each other their various adventures during the fight. Although hungry, thirsty and tired, we were marched from one headquarters to another until midnight, when we came to Chickamauga creek. Here we were allowed to satisfy our thirst, and wash the caked powder from our lips and faces. Up to this time it would have been hard to tell whether we were not some of "Uncle Sam's" contrabands.

After marching on about a half mile, we camped for the night, ate our suppers from the scanty supply in our haversacks, and soon lost all consciousness of our situation in deep and dreamless sleep. The sun was high in the Heavens when we awoke next morning. After getting our breakfasts, as we had our suppers, we started on our weary march for Ringgold, at which place our names were registered by regiments and companies.

To return to the battle-field: Lt. [Stephen V.] Walker had command of our company ("D") during the engagement on Saturday, and at the commencement of Sunday's fight. During the second charge on Sunday, he was, sword in hand, rallying some of our men, who had for the moment given way, when a musket shot struck him down, entering his heart. 2nd Lt [John V.] Baird caught him as he fell, asked him if he was much hurt. He slowly opened his eyes, closed them again, and as brave an officer as ever drew sword had gone from among us. They tried to conceal his death from the company, but he soon was missed, and when his death was whispered around, gloom settled on every face in our company. All felt they had lost a friend and a brother. Always kind, such a man could not but endear himself to all. After his death, Lt. Baird commanded.

Another death which affected me much, was that of a private of our company, a boy some eighteen years of age, named [John] Dillman. He was always full of life and mischief; when we were coming out on Saturday, he threw away a pack of cards, which he was carrying in his pocket, remarking at the time that he did not want to be killed with them about him. He also said to some of the boys that he believed if he went into the fight, he would be killed during the first fire. He together with another, whose name I will not write, ran to the surprise of all who knew him. Shortly after he and his companion came back. He felt so ashamed over it, that he could look no one in the face. At the second charge he took his place in line, using no caution to protect himself, but standing

out in open view of the rebels, loading and firing his gun. A ball struck him in the centre of the forehead with a dull thud. He raised his eyes, looked wildly about, and fell like a log.

As we have since been in prison, I have had but little opportunity of finding out what other casualties occurred in the regiment. Lt. [Granville] Jackson of Co. "G" was shot through the head and killed instantly. Orderly Sergeant [Benjamin L. Pratt] of Company "A" was also killed. Our Co. went into the battle with thirty-one men; eleven of us were captured with the regt. on Sunday, four were afterwards picked up about the hospitals, making our number of prisoners fifteen. The eleven captured together were Sergeants [Amos] Putnam¹ and myself; Corporals [John] Smith,² [Wilson] Wilkinson³ and [Thomas E. W.] Elliott⁴; privates, [John] Davis,⁵ [William] Childers,⁶ [Louis] Stackhouse,⁷ O [scar] Scarberry,⁸ N[oa]h Scarberry⁹ and [Curtis] Sampson.¹⁰ The four captured afterwards, were [Aaron] Seymour,¹¹ [Miles] Ratcliff,¹² [Zachariah] Retherford¹³ and [George M.] Coyner.¹⁴

From Ringgold, we started for Tunnel Hill where it was said we would take the cars. We reached Tunnel Hill about dark, stayed all night, and found in the morning, that we could not get on the cars at that place, but would have to go on to Dalton; reached Dalton that day, and on the next, were aboard the cars and off to Richmond. The first provisions drawn were at Tunnel Hill; here we drew one pint of meal to each man. We next drew at Dalton, the same quantity of flour. Our next stoppage was at Atlanta; here we stayed two nights in a pen formed of planks, with a sort of barracks inside containing prisoners, deserters from the rebel army. We got three days rations when we started, and the next night stopped at Augusta, the old capital of Georgia. Here we were put in a church yard during the night. This was a beautiful grove, with a fine growth of grass, underneath, and the finest stopping place we had throughout the whole trip.

From Augusta, we went to Columbia, S.C., where we changed cars.

¹ Sgt. Amos Putnam was paroled, date not known.

² Corp. John Smith died in Andersonville Prison, January 5, 1864.

³ Corp. Wilson Wilkinson died June 11, 1864, in Andersonville.

⁴ Corp. Thomas E. W. Elliott was exchanged, date not known.

⁵ Pvt. John Davis died on May 1, 1864, at Danville, Va.

⁶ Pvt. William Childers died June 13, 1864, at Andersonville.

⁷ Pvt. Louis Stackhouse died on February 18 or February 21, 1864, at Danville.

⁸ Pvt. Oscar Scarberry died on August 24, 1864, at Andersonville.

⁹ Pvt. Noah Scarberry was either exchanged or made good his escape.

¹⁰ Pvt. Curtis Sampson died July 28, 1864, at Andersonville.

¹¹ Pvt. Aaron Seymour died May 27, 1864, at Andersonville.

¹² Miles Ratcliff died in prison at Danville, on March 27, 1864.

¹³ Pvt. Zachariah Retherford was exchanged on October 2, 1864.

¹⁴ Pvt. George M. Coyner died on July 12, 1864, at Andersonville.

On our next day's journey we passed through Chester, S.C. While cars stopped, quite a crowd gathered around us, for the greater part consisting of the "innocent cause of this war." One of the "Chivalry," having taken a "drop-too-much" came down to the cars on horse-back challenging any "Yank" to come out and fight him. The "Yanks" would frighten away his horse, but he would return, and each time with the same luck until we left. An old woman came out to see us. She remarked that she did not see our horns. One of our boys answered that as we were younger than our cousins of the East, our horns had not yet appeared but would in the course of time. We next stopped and changed cars at Charlotte, N.C. From this place to Gaston, where cars were again changed. Then on to Greenberry, and from there to Raleigh, we drew rations—crackers with beans mixed up in them, and meat with life enough in it to need killing over again. From Raleigh we made for Petersberg, changed cars, and away for Richmond. Reached Richmond about an hour before dark, were marched up town and lodged in a building for the night. On waking the next morning, we found ourselves in the heart of the city.

This was the first day of October, just ten days from the time of our capture. I looked over my clothes for vermin and the sight was truly discouraging. They were literally covered, the creatures having taken advantage of our long ride on the cars. I consoled myself as best I could with the thought of soon getting through to our lines, where I could procure new clothes and throw away the old ones. What would have been my thoughts, if I could have looked into the future and seen our fate written "Prisoners for eight months." If I could have seen all we have passed through since, I could not but have wished for death to remove me from my horrible condition. I went to work to rid my-self if possible of the unwelcome strangers which gave me employment for the morning.

In the afternoon, we were taken to a room on the lower floor and requested to deliver up our "Greenbacks," which they told us we would receive again on going through our lines. If we would not give them up of our own account, we would be searched and all found upon our persons would be confiscated. Many gave up their money but some were sharp enough to conceal it about them. The rebels commenced their search in good earnest, but finding no more "greenbacks" forthcoming, gave it up after searching a few, and left us. We then had rations issued, "hardtack" and beef, for which we were well prepared with appetites sharpened to do them justice. In the evening we were marched to another prison opposite Libby where I got along with most of our company from whom I was separated on the trip through. Here I mailed a letter to Father, which was written in my former prison. (This letter reached home just one month from the time it was mailed).

We stayed in this prison without any event of importance occurring, until moved to this place, Danville. We lived, and that was about all we were able to do, on the rations given us; half a small loaf of wheat bread, a piece of meat (hard to tell of what kind) about as large as your two fingers up to the second joint, and a mixture called soup every other day. I had a watch which my companion traded off, thus enabling us to buy bread and in this way manage to live, hungry all the time. Bread cost from 20 to 25 cts a loaf the size of a large biscuit. Soon our meat played out altogether, and we got rice or sweet potatoes instead. Our wheat bread at first mixed with corn soon became altogether corn, bran and all left in as it came from [the] mill.

After being confined a short time we began to look around and make discoveries. We found there was a Commissary under our building, containing sugar, salt and tobacco. Openings were made through the floor into the cellar, and holes cut in the sugar hogsheads. The first night there was such a rush that the lower floor was all daubed over with sugar. This would never do, as it would lead to discovery; so the floor was scrubbed and all traces removed before daylight. It was then arranged for "details" from each mess (of 25 men) to go down every other night and get sugar enough for the mess. This plan worked well and we would have procured sugar for some time, but for an accident. The prisoners on the other side of the building finding out our game, cut through the wall from their cellar into ours, making so much noise in so doing, as to discover themselves to the guards.

The rebels gave the other party the credit for the whole affair as the opening on our floor was not discovered. The rebels afterwards published an estimate of the amount taken out and its value at existing prices. The amount was 8,900 lbs at a value of \$3 a lb. in Confederate currency besides the salt and tobacco.

Next day all was taken out and hauled up town. They then stored away a quantity of bran in the cellar below; with this the men filled their haversacks, making of it coffee and boiling it on fire made of pieces of the building. Some ate it dry.

On the first Sunday a Chaplain of an Eastern regt., confined in Libby, came over and preached for us promising to call again if he and we stayed in Richmond, but he with the rest of the Chaplains was exchanged during the week; so that was the only sermon we heard while in the city.

On the 13th Nov. the prisoners from our building were taken out and started on the train for Danville. There were seven hundred of us, being the first of some three or four thousand to be sent to D. We arrived about 9 o'clock P.M. and were put in a large building. Prison No. 1. No preparation had been made for our reception. It was Friday when we started from Richmond. On starting each man received one loaf of bread. A

few men were taken out on Saturday to cook for us but by 9 o'clock at night no rations had appeared; we had now been without food from Friday morning until Saturday night.

There was a small yard attached to the building surrounded by a plank fence twelve or fifteen feet high; a guard was stationed both on the outside and inside of this fence. Some of our boys cut a hole in one of the planks large enough to let a man slip through; soon after dark, we began our exit and before 11 o'clock some sixty or seventy of us were out and on our way to freedom. I was accompanied by three of our Co., [Wilson] Wilkinson, [John] Davis and [Aaron] Seymour.

From the yard we made our way to the canal, crossed, and went up between the canal and river. There were a number of batteaus with negroes living in them, on the canal, so we had to be very careful to prevent an alarm. We then followed the canal up to the outskirts of the city, crossed over on the locks, and struck out into the open country. There had been a heavy rain storm during the afternoon, and the roads were muddy and ditches full. As we had no desire to meet any one we avoided the roads and followed the river, going through the fields. Being very dark we could not see the ditches in our way, so we were constantly plunging into mud and water, running into briar patches, and wearying ourselves completely out. After a little while we reached the rough broken country, and the farther we advanced, the more difficult became our route; until at last we could scarcely get along at all. In many places we had to climb along holding to the bushes overhead, with the river flowing swiftly but silently some twenty or thirty feet immediately below; let go our hold, and we would be dashed to pieces on the rocks beneath us. At one place we were forced to climb over a steep bluff holding on to the undergrowth. At length, at about four o'clock in the morning, we reached a more open country, came upon a tobacco warehouse, and stopped to rest until day-light. We had traveled in this time, over ten miles of road, such as I believe no man could have traveled without such a cause as we had to sustain him.

Here we were, having had nothing to eat for thirty-six hours, wasted away by over a month's imprisonment, eaten up by vermin, almost naked, and with what little clothing we had, completely soaked. As we sat in the tobacco house, I shook as I had never shaken before, with the ague; the thought of gaining my liberty, had sustained me thus far, nothing less could have carried me through. But now, all my strength gave way; Wilkinson whispered [to] my companions that I was starving; I felt no hunger, I had no feeling, no thought except to reach our lines.

Daylight was approaching and it became necessary for us to go on, lest we should be discovered. They asked me if I could go on; I said I would try. I walked a few yards, and broke down; rested a few seconds,

started on again, and broke down as before. Davis then came to my assistance and half carried me along. In this way, we reached the centre of an open field—the woods, where we could conceal ourselves, being on the other side. These woods we desired to reach, but I felt that if our own line of pickets was there, it would be impossible for me to reach them. I must stop here, come what would. I told my companions to go on and leave me; I could go no farther. They were loth to leave, but nothing else could be done. If we stopped in this open field all would be retaken; they could do nothing more for me. They then advised me to go to a house which was near, give myself up, and get something to eat. After they had gone, I crawled into a fodder shock with no thought of surrendering. I would starve before voluntarily surrendering myself up again as a prisoner. I was soon asleep and slept perhaps two hours.

When I woke, I crawled out, and started on again, hoping to find my companions. In crossing the open field, I felt no fear of being seen, or recaptured. After reaching the woods, I searched some time for my companions, but finally gave up the search and laid down to pass away the day (Sunday). Through the day, from my place of concealment, I could hear the voices of children near, but none came where they could see me. About two hours before sunset I started again, most of my way laying through woods. I was unable to proceed more than a mile when I stopped and fixed my bed at the roots of a large chestnut, which had been overthrown by the wind, leaving a large hollow underneath. I scraped together a lot of leaves and so slept very well until one or two o'clock, when it turned cold, and I could sleep no more, as I had nothing with which to cover myself.

I lay awake, longing for day-light, and at last it came. I got up and started on my lone way up the river, resting often, and watching for an opportunity to cross. I could meet with none, and coming to a riffle in the river, determined to cross at all hazards. I pulled off my shoes, rolled up my pants, and started in. When I had got about one third of the way across, finding the rocks slippery and the water very swift, I saw that it would be impossible for me to cross there and was turning back, when I heard a voice calling from the shore. I looked up and saw a Negro woman looking at me. I made my way back to where the woman stood; she asked me if I wished to cross the river. I answered that I did; she then told me there was a ferry, a short distance above, belonging to the plantation and if I wished, some of the men would set me across. She next asked me if I was not a Yankee. I told her I was, and was trying to get to our "lines." Then she told me of several others who had been along, and whom the Negroes had set across the night before. I then asked for something to eat, and she told me to stay where I was until she should send a man to take me to a place of concealment, and at noon, she would take me to her cabin. Soon the man appeared, and took me up a hollow,

where I lay down and went to sleep in the warm sunshine, and slept until the woman came for me, at noon.

I went with her to the cabin, and after taking a good wash, sat down to the dinner she had prepared for me, a dinner of rabbit-pie, sweet potatoes and corn dodgers. It was Monday noon and the first I had eaten since Friday morning. I made a good meal and the woman left me there, locking the door after her and promising that I should be set across the river, that night. I laid down on the bed and took a good sleep. At night I was too sick to think about travelling, and the good woman invited me to stay as long as I wished; said I would not be fit to travel for a week to come, and must stay with her; that I looked more dead than alive. I promised to stay that night, but must surely go the next.

On the day following, I improved slowly. The woman tried to persuade me not to go that night; but shortly after dark she came in and said there were two others wanting to cross, and would like to join me. I did not much like the idea of joining in with a squad of strangers, but would prefer going by myself. Soon after, one of them came in a fellow belonging to the 24th O.V.I. From his description of his companion, I concluded he was a young man belonging to our company. I went over to where he was, and found I had guessed right. He was a young man named [Miles] Ratcliff.

The Negress parched a quantity of corn for us, and at about 10 o'clock we were sent across the river and started again on our way, traveling until after daylight. We laid by until night, when we started again and lost our way; stopped at a Negro cabin, got our suppers and directions for the road. We were to cross Mt. Tucock, but soon lost the road; and so had to take a general course across the hills and hollows. At length we reached the foot of the mountain and received directions for crossing from a white boy that we met. We were all day crossing and when we reached the other side stopped to rest awhile until the moon was up.

We had now entered Franklin Co., eighteen or twenty miles from the foot of the Blue Ridge. There we would be comparatively safe. After going a short distance, we came to a creek with a foot log across it. At this place four or five men sprang into the road, in front of us and ordered us to surrender. As resistance was useless, being unarmed and having four guns pointed at us, we did as ordered. We were marched off to a house at a short distance and taken into the parlor where an old lady and her two daughters were sitting. The old lady looked glum and sour, and had nothing to say; but the girls were very pleasant. They were all polite and kind in their treatment of us, with one exception. This was an old man, one of our captors; he d-d us considerably and "allowed you uns deserved to be hanged for coming down here to fight we uns." We told him such talk did no good, as we were not going to be scared by it; that we had been taken in Georgia and brought to Virginia, much against

our wills, but would not have thought we were doing anything wrong in invading Va.; it was our duty to go where our Government ordered. He admitted it was useless getting mad; but he could not help it, when he thought about how we were doing.

As soon as we had gotten well warmed we were invited out to supper. After supper we were taken back over the mountain to a plantation where we were to stop for the night—two young men—sons of the owner of the plantation to which we were going, being our guard. We reached the plantation very tired, found a fire in the parlor, and they soon made a bed for us on the floor. Tired as I was, I had a long argument with the old man (Gravelly) who was a very rabid secessionist. As he could bring but few arguments to his assistance, he used assertion, and became very heated, using some threats. He was bitter on the Morgan question.

"What if he were to treat me as we did Morgan—he had me in his power and could do with me as he pleased." I "allowed" not "with what assistance he had then." At last I told him I was tired and would go to sleep. One of the men sat up with us all night.

In the morning when I went out to breakfast, the old man commenced on me again, this time assisted by his daughter, while the old lady looked daggers from the head of the table. This time he changed tactics, and began boasting; referred to his table and asked if that looked much like we were starving them out. (The breakfast consisted of corn bread, without salt, coffee made of corn, or other substitute, sweetened with molasses, chicken, ham, and butter.) I did not care about discussing his breakfast, so said nothing. He then asked me what I thought of the crops through the country. I remarked that I did not see much of any, crops through the country, and what I did see, would be considered hardly worth gathering in the North. I then referred him to the currency of the South, and the amount of country we had recovered from them, and asked him if that looked encouraging to them, but he managed to get around the question, and I could get nothing out of him.

We parted on very good terms after breakfast, and were again on our way to Henry C.H. distance ten miles. When we had walked about half of the way, I was taken sick, and could walk no farther; so one of the young men let me ride his horse, he walking. In this way, we arrived at Henry C.H. and were lodged in the jail along with eight other "Yanks" who had been taken before us. While in jail we were subjects of much curiosity to the citizens who came down in crowds, to see and talk with us, through our prison bars. The jailor being an easy accommodating sort of a man, many were allowed to come inside and see us. The school children would also assemble around the jail, at every opportunity during the day. At first they were shy of us, and would only look in and talk from the hall. We soon however persuaded them inside, and had all the company we wanted during the day.

An old lady came in, on the first evening of our stay, and gave us a terrible rating for fighting in the cause in which we were. But the "Yanks" treated her so civilly, that she became ashamed of her conduct, and to make amends, came down the next morning with apples and some religious books for us; then said if we wanted anything, to tell her and she would get it for us. She afterwards called three or four times and we got along together most agreeably. They all expressed a desire to have us stay with them until we were exchanged or paroled.

Arrangements were made for our return to Danville in a coach. The coach called around Sunday morning, and we got in readiness for the trip—nine inside and two on top with the driver. Three details were along to guard us—one on the coach and two on horseback. There were forty miles of muddy roads to travel, as we went along, we picked up other passengers.

At one place two young ladies were waiting for the coach. The driver told them the coach was full of "Yanks," but if they wished to go the "Yanks" would make room for them. The Yanks of course agreed, and invited the ladies to take seats inside. The ladies however refused our invitation and we drove on. Our guards were very kind and attentive during the trip, stopping at different places to get us apples, and turnips.

On our way, we happened upon a number of details, having in charge three conscripts for the rebel army; and these they put on our coach. It was long after dark when we got back to D., the number of passengers having increased to nineteen. The conscripts were lodged in jail and we were taken to the guard house, where each received a loaf of bread, and some wood with which to make us a fire. The bread being nearly black, soiled, and very sour, hungry as we were, we could scarcely eat it. In the morning we arose, expecting to be "bucked," as the prisoners captured before us, had been; but were agreeably disappointed, as soon after guard mounting, we were taken out and put into prison though not in the same one from which we had escaped. This was prison No. 3, where we have since remained.

It was then eight days since our escape from No. 1, and in that time we had improved much in health, from having more to eat, exercise and fresh air. The weather had by this time become disagreeably cold, and we were but half clad, without blankets, or covering of any kind. Some of the men, however, had their "dog tents" along with them and were thus partially protected from the cold. I was not so fortunate, and sometimes thought I could not stand it much longer; but my strong constitution carried me through. We drew a pretty good quality of beef, and also a pretty good quantity; but our bread was black and generally sour, and of such as it was, we could not get enough. What made us feel our situation the more, was, that we knew clothing, blankets and provisions

had been sent us by our Government, but we could not have them. In this way we lived until December, when the rebels commenced issuing to us Government clothing; but they seemed to try how long they could be about it, stealing enough in the meantime to clothe themselves. It was Christmas day when we were at last taken out to get our clothing. We then found that so much of the clothing had been stolen, that it was impossible to get an outfit to each man; so, if we took drawers, we got no pants; if pants, no drawers; if shoes no socks, and if socks, no shoes. We were allowed to have either a Great Coat or blanket. I drew a pair of drawers, shirt, pr socks, and blanket. I was then told that there was a box for me, which had been sent to Richmond, and from there forwarded to Danville.

About this time we were put into prison No. 6, where we stayed until after New Years, when we were again returned to No. 3. We were now much better situated, having more clothing in addition to our blankets. We had, at this time, a very cold spell of weather, which made us, all the more, appreciate our additional clothing and in our hearts, thank "Uncle Sam" for his kindness.

It was [on] January 19, 1864, [at Danville], that I was called to go and get my box. I went to the commissary, gave a receipt, and obtained the box, took it over to the prison opened it, and found nothing had been taken out. It contained a warmus, over shirt and under shirt, pr drawers, socks, silk handkerchief, soap, towels, two bottles of medicine, dried beef, sugar and tea. The over shirt I sold to a rebel, who first offered me \$20. southern-script, which I refused and afterwards obtained \$30. With part of this money I bought rice and bread, which helped along considerably. I was still on the watch for another chance of escaping but we were very closely guarded. Maj. Moffit had taken charge of the post, relieving Capt. McCoy; he was a man of greater energy and kept the prisoners much closer than the Capt. had before. While Capt. McCoy had command, he was continually having us searched although he never found enough to reward him for his pains; for they had by this time been searched often enough to know how to take care of what little they had left. In the early part of January, some of the men went to work digging a tunnel from the building across to the guard house under which it was intended to crawl up, the distance being some thirty or forty feet. After digging some fifteen or twenty feet, it was discovered. It was supposed that some one inside had told the officers. All the men on the lower floor were sent up stairs, and as we were already crowded, it was hard to find room for nearly two hundred more. They were however kept up, one day and one night.

The rebels said no one should go down until they told who dug the tunnel; but no one would tell. At last the two principal ones owned up, to save the rest. These two were taken out and bucked for an hour on

two different mornings, and the men allowed to go back to the lower floor.

A short time afterwards some fifty or sixty escaped from No. 5 and a few nights after that a tunnel was discovered leading from No. 4, which would have been ready to have opened in a night or two. Through this the whole building could have escaped, as it was very large—enough for three or four men to walk abreast. When discovered, the tunnel was thirty feet long, and some six feet below the street.

The Richmond papers began to complain of the number of prisoners escaping from this place; so finding we would get out as long as we were where we could dig, they had all the men removed from the lower floor, at night, and a guard placed at the foot of the stairs; and also one in the yard, allowing only six men down at a time. Notwithstanding all this precaution No. 5 completed a tunnel through which a large number escaped. After this, the rebels went to searching, and found a tunnel some six or eight feet long under our building. They then had the guards stationed in the building and yard during the day, as well as at night, allowing fifty down during the day, and six during the night.

The night after the tunnel from our prison (No. 3) was discovered, seventeen escaped by slipping out through the sewer leading from the sinks. Soon after the Richmond papers brought us news of the exchange being carried on, and the attempts to escape ceased.

In the beginning of March another lot of boxes came on, the boys from our regiment getting a full share. Soon after, still another lot of boxes came, and this time, I received a second one. We see from the papers that all the prisoners have got through, and we are now waiting our turn, which will be next.

We have met with disappointment after disappointment, until we have almost concluded that there is nothing more for us in this time. When we came in here, we were a hardy healthy set of men, but there has been a great change since then. Many then in the prime of life, strong and hearty, are now under the sod, died from hunger and cold. A great many are scarred with the smallpox and the Hospitals are filled with men suffering with chronic diarrhoea. Our prison which was so crowded when I first came to it that I could scarcely find room to lie down on either of the three floors, now holds all on two floors, with less crowding. We have heard very little from our friends, I received two short notes in the boxes I got, and one by mail; but they had little news in them. One brought me the news that Ed and Ike¹⁵ were at school in Pennsylvania. I had not heard of them being discharged; but am glad they are not with us, for it would hurt me worse to see them suffer than to suffer myself.

I have regretted much since my imprisonment not having a blank book in which to keep a diary, as it was I had not paper on which to write home.

¹⁵ Edward T. Cook and Isaac S. Cook, his first cousins, from Chillicothe, O.

I borrowed a half sheet of note paper, when first we came to Richmond, and wrote to father. Did not write again until the 21st of January, after receiving my first box in which was some paper. But every one was wanting paper to write letters, so I had to let it go. I have written three or four times since, and when I received the second box in which was this paper, I thought the best substitute for a diary would be a sketch of my travels and adventures, as accurate as could be given from memory.

I will add here a few remarks concerning our rations at Danville which I neglected to bring in in their proper places. Of the rations sent by our Government, they merely made a show of giving us. Out of a lot of beans sent, we had soup once or twice; besides this, we twice received crackers; at one time, ten, and the other five. Of rebel rations we had black bread, beef and bean soup. The soup was nothing more than warm water covered over the top with bugs out of the beans, the beans being never washed, but thrown in dirt and all.

Once in a while there was a change and we got soup made out of musty rice, still weaker than the bean soup. For a while they gave us cabbage soup. This was made not from cabbage heads but from cabbage, not come to a head, thrown in stock, dirt and all, just as it was pulled out of the ground. Twice they issued this cabbage raw. There was not the sign of a head, and the leaves were eaten into holes and covered thickly with green bugs. The only soup we received worth drinking, was the bean soup made from the beans sent us by our Government; and some kraut-soup, which they issued two or three times. Twice they issued to us sweet potatoes raw and a few times sweet potatoe soup, which was about as good as the cabbage-soup. This was all that was issued to us besides the bread and meat, while Capt. McCoy had charge of the prison.

Since Maj Moffit took command in January, we have had soap three times, the whole amounting to less than a quarter bar of common soap. We have four or five times drawn wood, but they furnish no axes, and seemed to pick out the knottiest they could find. When we were searched they took away all pocket and case knives, yet no matter how hard the wood, it would in a days time be split up into fine kindling tied up and hung to the rafters. At each time they issued one cord of wood to the building, a teacupful of salt was issued to each man, once.

In January they began issuing corn instead of wheat bread, all the bran being left in the meal. The beef gave out about the same time and we had pork instead, sometimes very good, and sometimes very poor.

Prison No. 3, Danville Va., April 11" 1864.

Wednesday April 13th. This morning the first lot of "Yanks" started from here for City Point. They were taken out of No 5; drew three days rations yesterday, which consisted of a loaf and a half of wheat bread,

and the usual amount of meat. Another lot from No 6 drew rations to-day, and will start in the morning. It is reported that a load will go every day, until all are taken. The rebels gave us quite an exhibition on guard-mounting this morning and yesterday. A man was rode up and down the "parade" on a rail with a board fastened to his back with "I will steal" upon it. Two men carried the rail, and two walked along, one on each side, supporting the rider in his position. The band followed playing the "Rogues March."

Every morning some one of the guards is punished for being absent without leave, the usual punishment being to stand them on the head of a barrel with a board on their backs. I have passed the day playing checkers and reading an old magazine of 1857.

Thursday, April 14th. This morning No 6. started for the lines. I was awake when the guards who accompanied them, left their barracks, at about 3 o'clock. They raised a shout on starting as though they were glad to get off guard duty. Poor fellows how soon they will find out their mistake. After taking the prisoners to City Point they will go on to the front, and this for the first time, as they have been guarding prisoners ever since they enlisted.

I remember the time when I was just as anxious to see the "front," but am now satisfied and would willingly live the life of a quiet citizen, were this rebellion crushed. But while it lasts, and my life and health are spared, I am still a soldier, willing to do and to suffer in our good cause. May God speed the day, when we shall be a united, prosperous nation, as we were, and all this bloodshed cease throughout our unhappy land.

I have been thinking lately a great deal about the loved ones at home. Not one word have I heard from them except the simple fact of their all being well, from my mothers letter. I have thought some of them might write, but do not know that I have any reason to think so. I believe they each would do all they could for my comfort. Perhaps they have written, and I not received their letters.

No 1 prisoners leave here to-morrow, and perhaps some of our prison with them. This will leave only two prisons, here, (our own No 3 and No 6) and the prisoners in the Hospitals.

If every thing goes on straight we will get off Saturday, or the first of next week. It has been pleasant weather ever since the prisoners commenced leaving this place, but this evening it has clouded over and looks like rain.

Friday, April 15th. This morning No 1. started but none of our prison accompanied them; some of our men got to work this morning, splitting the rafters and tearing up things generally. There has been a great deal of excitement on account of a rumor in the "Richmond Examiner," that the prisoners who had left Danville Va., had been taken to Ga. to be ex-

changed at Americus in that State. We do not like the idea of going to that place, and are afraid they would not exchange after getting us there. But I think it is all a mistake, and when we leave here, we will go to City Point. The guards on duty in the building, tell us, the Lt. of the guard was put under arrest this evening, for not instructing the guards aright. Report says that our prison starts Monday morning next. Hope we will not be disappointed.

Tuesday, April 19th. As usual we are again disappointed; many different rumors are afloat about our getting off, and where the prisoners, who have already left have been taken. But from what I hear, I come to the conclusion that they have been sent to Georgia, and will remain there for some time, very likely, during the summer. We will either follow them or be kept in this place.

From the papers we can get nothing. One day they assert a thing, and contradict it, the next, and, on the whole, seem as ignorant of the intentions of the two Governments, as ourselves.—They claim that their government will have nothing to do with Butler, and will not exchange under him; while at the same time, they speak of the exchange going on at City Point, Butler being our commissioner of exchange. I cannot see how they work it, unless through him. They tell of their commissioner Oulds, going to Fortress Monroe, to make arrangements with our Commissioner; and how can he do this without communicating with Butler. The conclusion I come to is that they know nothing of the matter, and so compound a heap of lies to fill their dirty sheets, which are composed of little else than these lies, a lot of advertisements for runaway negroes, and extracts from copper-head papers, which are a disgrace to the north. The editorials are such flimsey lies, that no one with anything like common sense however prejudiced, but can see through them. It is anything but consoling for us to reflect, that it is our lot to stay here during the summer; but such is the fate my feelings lead me to predict for us.

All communication with the North seems to be cut off, at this time. We have had no mail now for two or three weeks. I could be more contented if I could hear from my friends. Sometimes I become down-hearted, and almost think I have no friends. Yesterday, two men belonging to our regiment came in from the small-pox hospital and from them I learned of the deaths of different ones of our regiment of which I had not before heard. Corporal John Smith of our Co., died in small-pox hospital on the 5th of January, Louis Stackhouse also of the same Co., died in the same hospital on the 18th of Feb. John McClintock of the 33rd O.V.I. died in the same on the 14th of January. I heard that Miles Radcliff was dead, but have no certain knowledge of his death. He was in the general hospital near the R.R. depot.

Last night a number of guards who went off with the prisoners from this place, returned, and seemed to be glad to get back.

Wednesday, April 20th. A man named Kimmel had a very severe attack of cramp colic this morning. The men worked with him nearly two hours, giving him pepper tea, and holding warm bricks to his body. I have been amusing myself yesterday and to-day, watching a negro working a garden, just across the street. I wonder whether I will be here when the garden grows up. Hard as it is, I think it altogether likely. We are still in the dark as to where the prisoners who left here have been taken; whether to a new prison in Ga. or into our own lines. The rebels tell us that Grant is advancing on Richmond from the front, and Burnside from the Peninsular, also that McClelland and Sigel command Corps in the Army of the Potomac. In Sigel I have much confidence, but cannot say the same of McClelland. My faith in him has been greatly shaken for a variety of reasons, but I still have some confidence in his ability as a military Commander, and hope he will try to retrieve his character, in the eyes of his country-men. I have all confidence in Genl Grant and am looking for the speedy capture of the rebel city. Then, no doubt the rebels will either fall back on this city, or we will be taken South. I think if the war is ended this year, we will remain here until peace is restored. The small-pox hospital has been destroyed, the patients who were well enough being sent to the prisons, and the rest put in the other hospitals. All day they have been hauling the tents and bedding past our prison.

Friday, April 22nd. A lot of sick was sent on to be exchanged this morning, and another, yesterday. Many of our men are playing off, sick and going out to the hospital every morning, hoping to get to our lines in this way. The other evening the guards told the prisoners there was "lots of news in the papers," we soon got hold of a paper, but could not find the "lots of news." It only contained an exaggerated account of the capture of Fort Pillow by General Forrest's Command. Although the capture of the fort may be true, yet all the details I set down to be false. It is unnatural to suppose the defending party should suffer the most in killed and wounded, that out of five hundred men, on our side, three hundred should be killed, while the rebels only lost some twenty killed, and fifty or sixty wounded.

Monday morning April 25th. The third and last lot of sick was sent from this place on Saturday. Yesterday we were taken out of our prison, and brought over to this building formerly occupied by No 1., and the place in which I spent my first night in Danville. I did not much like the move, as I had gotten used to the old building and would much prefer remaining there while we stay in D. Besides issuing to us our regular rations, yesterday, they also issued a days rations of our government crackers, and three or four spoonful of molasses to the man. This is the first of the

molasses sent by our government which has been given. I cannot account for this unusual liberality. It is also reported that they are going to issue more of the clothing sent us. The Richmond Examiner of the 23rd contains a long speech made by a Northern Copper-head in our Congress. I did not trouble myself to read it, but know it is to afford aid and comfort to the rebels, or they would not have copied it, a long speech filling one-half their paper. Although they try to keep a "bold front" it is plain that the rebels are expecting to lose Richmond, and are making preparations for such an event. I would not be at all surprised if they should fall back this way, as they are opening the railroad beyond, and fortifying this place. This morning a Co of rebels left D., I suppose for the front.

Monday evening, April 25th. Saw a regiment this evening, marching to the "Rogues March," I have always seen it used as a punishment, until this time. They marched off as though it was some stirring patriotic tune, hardly guessing that the "Yanks" were laughing at them, and considering the tune very appropriate in their case.

Tuesday, April 26th. Last night some twelve or fifteen men escaped from this prison, before the guard was put on for the evening. They crawled under the fence (through a hole where the ground had caved in at the sinks) to an inclosure made by the fence leading to a small stable in the yard adjoining. This inclosure was filled as it could be with "Yanks," waiting until night should allow them to come out. When Maj. Moffitt came, in the evening on his round of inspection, he noticed where the stakes had been pulled out of the hole, but thought the Yanks had only pulled them out for wood. He even looked through the cracks of the fence into the inclosure, but saw nothing of them. The Major was pretty badly sold when some of the boys told him this morning that the inclosure was full at the time he looked in. When night came on, those who escaped made their way from the enclosure into the stable; and then by removing a paling from the fence, into the garden, where they were on the outside of the guards. Their escape was not discovered until between four and five o'clock this morning. About 9 o'clock a squad of rebels was sent in pursuit, but as the Yanks had six or eight hours start it is not probable they will be overtaken. Yesterday the Surgeon took out thirty men, not three of whom, I will venture to say, were any sicker than I. To-day, the prisoners from No 4 were taken out, and put into the prison we left Sunday. Another Co of rebels left this morning, I suppose for the front. Some of our men have been much excited to-day, on the subject of retaliation. The rebel papers having rumors of our government retaliating on Forrests men for the brutal murder of the Col Commanding at Fort Pillow. It seems the rebels nailed him to a board, and then burned him to death, in the most horrible manner. Some of the men think our Government should not re-

tialiate, as it will cause the rebels to retaliate on us again. I think there is no danger of that as the rebels would be afraid to do anything of the kind as long as we have so many of their men in our hands. I think our Government would be doing wrong in not adopting some measures to punish such an outrage. Men who could do such a thing, do not deserve the name of men, and the earth should be rid of their presence.

Wednesday, April 27th. This afternoon, some three hundred men were sent back to No 4, leaving a few of their number in No 3 building. They then made a call for eighty-seven men from our building to take back to the old building; but no one would volunteer, so they had to conscript them. At first, they conscripted a floor, wholesale; but could not secure more than half of them, but balance going to the other floors, and hiding themselves, so that it took them the best part of the evening, besides a large stock of patience to get out the required number. Still another lot of these rebels was shipped off this morning. If they thus continue leaving, we will come to the conclusion that it is not worth our while staying here prisoners, there not being guards sufficient to take care of us.

Tuesday, May 3rd. Happy season for many but not for the poor prisoner. Trees, fields, and gardens begin to look green and inviting, but we can only look at them from our guarded windows, and long for that freedom so long denied us. Will we ever see our homes and the ones we love? Our men are working for the rebels in every way they can, tailoring, carpentering, gardening, building and even helping them to make shells of which I am not sure, they at least make the moulds and build the foundry in which they are cast. There are shoe-makers and lath-makers, and nearly every calling at all useful to the rebels. These men who go out to work have not the excuse of necessity for doing so. What food we get in here, mean and rough as it is, is enough, and all a man should eat of such stuff. Those who go out to work, get a little more of the same, but nothing better. They do get more exercise, than we in the prison but they get it at the expense of aiding their enemies. Nearly all our old North Carolina guards of last winter, have left us, and we are now guarded by Va. conscripts, really the most ignorant and surly of all the troops of the South, with whom we have had anything to do. We are getting very anxious to hear from our armies, for in them is our only hope of deliverance from our captivity. We hear through the rebels of great preparation on our part, but when will the action commence. Until the battle does come off, I have no hope of hearing from home. We have received no letters, now, since the middle of March, What is the reason, communication is cut off, I cannot guess.

Sunday, May 8th. On Friday evening, about sundown, we unexpectedly received orders to bundle up and go over to No. 4. This building was already full so that it was next thing to impossible to get a place in which to lie down, during the first night at all. The next day Saturday, a lot more

was brought over from No. 3. They allowed these to stop on the lower floor, and a good many going down from above left us a little more room on the upper floors. But we are still most horribly crowded, and the rebels could not have taken a better plan for killing us off. Last night, towards midnight, we had quite an exciting scene. There had been a plot laid among six or eight men to break out of prison and effect their escape; which was to be carried out last night. They seized the guard, inside the building and took from him his gun. The poor guard thinking his fate was sealed, gave two or three most unearthly shrieks waking almost everyone in the house. After securing the guard, they made for the yard, and commenced prying off the bar which fastened the gate; while the men were at work, the guard from the outside tried to shoot through at them. The gun-cap snapped, but the gun would not go off; so the guard took to his heels. They at length got the gate open, and cleared out, carrying the gun with them. In getting out they had to go within reach of four or five of the guards, but not a gun was fired. The guards on all sides of the building waiting for the reserve guard to turn out. Soon an officer came and asked what was the matter. Our boys answered, "a man has the nightmare." The guards were soon out, but by this time the boys were a mile, on their way. This morning some thousand or more Yankee officers arrived from Richmond, and were put in No 1 and No 3 buildings. I looked for some of our regimental officers, but could see none. No doubt however, there are some among them.

Saturday, May 21st. We started from Danville on Monday, the 16th, took the railroad towards Greensboro, and had to walk five or six miles where the road was not completed. From Greensboro we went to Charlotte, from Charlotte to Augusta; then to Macon, and from Macon to this place (Andersonville). We were four or five days on the cars, crowded so that we could not lie down. The cars were very close, and only one of the doors allowed to be opened; so we were almost suffocated by the heat, and close air. Two or three men had sun-strokes, and one died during the trip. The place where we camped last night, is on the sand; no shade, and the sun is beginning to strike us, this morning without mercy.

May 26th. We are situated in an inclosure of some ten or fifteen acres, surrounded by a picket fence of pine logs. There is a small run of water passing through the centre, but the water is not very good. There are now in the inclosure some fourteen or fifteen thousand Yankees from all parts of the army. There are some of the most miserable looking creatures I ever came across. A number of the Belle Island prisoners are here, some of them as black as the Negroes who are in the inclosure. Some of them have scarcely any clothing and sleep in holes dug in the sand. Yesterday, the sand caved in on one of them, covering all but his head and neck. It was rather an amusing sight; but might have been very serious

for the poor fellow, if it had not been for the assistance of those around. A man dug away the sand so as to release one arm and shoulder, and then the man tried to draw himself out, but all his efforts only served to pack the sand closer around him, and secure him the better. The men around then went to work and dug him out, and as soon as he was free, he went to work to dig him another hole. The rebels are much afraid of a break from the stockade, and at night put on an extra line of guards called chase Guards all around the Stockade. Four pieces of artillery are bearing on the Stockade, one from each corner. The rations issued are about the same as at Danville, corn bread, and pork, with rice or peas, once a week.

[END OF JOURNAL]

[NOTES ADDED BY A COMPANION, ROBERT S. BROWN¹⁶]

For me to complete this journal to give a detailed account of the events as they occurred would be a thing impossible. Having no diary of my own to refer to, I would be compelled to rely wholly on my memory. My account would therefore be vague and inaccurate. Memory in this instance was very treacherous; in fact, those prison days were fraught with so much privation and suffering that the mind dislikes to call them back. In prison, passing events did not make the impression on the mind they would have done under different circumstances. For then the all absorbing thoughts were "exchange," and something to satisfy the demands of hunger. We dreamed of home and friends far away. We lived more in the future, than in the present. The misery and wretchedness that surrounded us on all hands made us look away from our prison pen, to our homes, where erelong we hoped to meet friends and companions, who were then lost to us. Thus, in looking forward to that brightest of all days, when we would be released from prison, we only retain a kind of shadowy recollection of many things that transpired. I can do nothing more then, than give a brief and disconnected account of our situation, mode of living &c.

My intimacy with William [James McKell] began at the time he was brought into prison No. 3, [Danville] after his re-capture; before this time we had been in separate buildings, and while we were with the regiment, I had but little acquaintance with him. But there being more of his Company boys in prison 3, he joined our little squad, which at that time numbered eight. William made the ninth. We all bunked in the same corner of the building and shared with each other, what little conveniences we had; after we received boxes from home in which we all had an equal divide. We got along without feeling the severity of prison

¹⁶ Robert S. Brown was the first sergeant of Co. H, 89th Reg. Ohio Vol. Inf. He had been captured at the Battle of Chickamauga on September 20, 1863, the same day that William James McKell became a prisoner.

life near so much as we afterwards did at Andersonville. At this time we drew raw rations (corn meal and pork, and occasionally a little rice) and very often had not wood enough to cook what we drew. That the amount of wood we got was but little, will be seen from the following statement. Six men out of each mess (90 men) were allowed to go out for wood every day, and carry in what they could at one load. These six armfuls of wood had to be divided among the whole mess. It looked like hard times indeed to see the men coming to their tents, after a division had been made, with a bunch of splinters in one hand, and the tools they had used to split it in the other, which as a general thing consisted of a railroad spike and case-knife. Wood was so scarce at times that we were compelled to dig up stumps. We cut off so many of the roots of the pine tree near which our tent was situated that we were often afraid of its falling. When we first went to Andersonville, William and I were both unwell, and as long as we could sell our meat rations for twenty-five cents (which was the case for two or three weeks after we went there) we could do very well, for this enabled us to buy peas and other vegetables, and we could get along without using so much of the coarse corn-meal we were then drawing.

About the middle of June, we began to draw cooked rations, which consisted of corn bread, pork, and peas, very often mush in the place of bread, and this made in large quantities, was full of uncooked lumps of meal, and very often sour, when it reached us. The peas when we drew them cooked, were unfit to eat, they were so full of sand and hulls that we had to wash them, and in doing this if they were well cooked, we would have but little left for a well person and indeed much worse for a sick person.

In looking back over my sojourn at Andersonville, from my present stand-point, I do not wonder that so many died, but that any escaped. At the time this change in our rations was made, I had about recovered from my illness, but William was growing worse. The disease had taken a firmer hold on him. I think he was of a weaker constitution than I was, and besides this he had given up the idea of ever getting out of prison. After his recapture at Danville he made the remark then, that he would end his days in prison. He was now so much worse that he had no desire for the food the rebels issued, and it was almost an impossibility to trade his rations off for any thing that he could eat; for by this time so much of the "Greenbacks" had been drained out by the rebel-guard that a ration of meat was dull sale at ten cents. When this was all the way we had of getting money it seemed useless to think of obtaining anything in addition to what we drew. Yet either Elijah¹⁷ or I would take the rations

¹⁷ Elijah Rockhold, Jr., a corporal of Co. H, 89th Reg. He was captured on September 20, 1863, and paroled March 3, 1865.

William drew, and go round over the prison camp nearly every day until we could dispose of them in some way. Sometimes we would get in exchange for them a biscuit, sometimes an apple, &c, but often all attempts would be fruitless.

In the hope of getting more appropriate diet, and seeing there was no prospect of his recovery while he remained in the stockade, William consented to go to the hospital if it was possible for him to get admittance. So at the next "Doctors Call" Elijah and I carried him to the gate we got there as soon as we could, but when we got there a large crowd of sick had already assembled, and we could scarcely get in sight of the gate. We waited there an hour or two before the sick commenced going out. During that time we had to stand in the hot sun, some of the sick who had been carried there in blankets, died on the spot. But with all our crowding, about the time it came our turn to go out, the rebel sentinel at the gate cried out that no more could be accommodated that day. We went back to our tents with heavy hearts, yet not without some little hope of success, for at the next call that was made, we made another attempt, but this time the crowd was larger than it ever had been before, and the heat was so oppressive that William fainted, and we were compelled to carry him out of the throng where he could get more pure air; and in doing this we lost our place in the ranks, and failed to get out. This was the last attempt we made and William was so weak by this time, that we despaired of his recovery even if he could be taken to the hospital, and at this time that was a thing next to impossible. But very few were admitted; only when one died was another admitted to fill his place. To give an idea how difficult it was to get the sick just outside the gate, I will make a few explanations.

Immediately after roll-call, which the sick as well as the well had to attend, the sick-call was made then all those who were able to walk and wanted medicine would make a rush for the gate, and before those who had to be carried in blankets, could be brought there a large crowd would already be collected, each one trying who could get the nearest the outlet, and of course those who would carry their friends there, would do their part at crowding, very often the sick and well would be jammed together around the gate, and from fifty to one hundred yards back in the streets. And it was no uncommon occurrence for them to stand around the gate from eight o'clock until twelve, without a single one getting out, and many of the sick would die on the ground, before their friends could get them back to their tents. On the outside of the prison gate, there was an inclosure of about one acre, in which the rebels had erected several small sheds in which the physicians made out their prescriptions. All who could get out were prescribed for, and a few of the worst cases sent to the hospital, provided the Doctors were there, and had any medicine,

which was very often not the case, so it very often happened, that after struggling and suffering in the crowd and boiling sun for half the day, all would have to go back to their tents, worse off than they came, not *all* for I have seen the corpse of many a poor fellow stretched out on the sand, who had expired in his fruitless attempt to reach the hospital.

I think the crowd gathered around that old prison gate at "Doctors Call," was the most pitiable and heartrending sight ever human eyes looked on. No language can correctly portray their suffering; and yet the rebels looked on with seeming indifference. The unparralleled misery, which they daily and hourly witnessed touched no chord of sympathy in their breasts [*sic*]. They had been brought up in the school of oppression, where the agonizing shrieks of an unfortunate race had often rung in their ears. They had witnessed the blod [*sic*] flow from the wounds their own hands had inflicted, until the noble impulses of their nature, which raises a man above the level of the brute were chilled one by one, and when their hellish plan culminated in the rebellion, humanity and justice were erased from the vocabulary. They took more pleasure in seeing us suffer than in devising means for our relief. They would deride poor unfortunate fellows, writhing in their last death struggles, covered with vermin and half devoured by worms, at the same time knowing they had been brought to such a sad end by their own cruelty and neglect.

These were trying times; one of our number had already died, the rest of our little squad were all sick but three (Wolf,¹⁸ Rockhold and myself), and the scurvey was making its appearance on us. There was, at this time, no prospect of an exchange. We all had looked for something to be done about the 4th of July for our release, but that time had come and gone, and nothing was done. Disappointment after disappointment had well nigh crushed out the last lingering hope of our rescue. Misery sat brooding over every tent. In the past there had been nothing but bitter disappointments, and in the future we had the prospect of dying among our enemies where instead of the soothing accents of a mothers or sisters voice, the ratteling of bayonets would fall upon our ears. None but those who have passed through the fiery ordeal of prison life can correctly estimate the privation and suffering they had to endure, and none but the bravest hearts were able to bear up under them.

It was evident now that William could live but a very short time. There could be nothing obtained inside the stockade, that would afford him any relief. It was useless to attempt to get him to the hospital, in fact it was an exception to the general rule, for any person to get well there, so that when a person got sick at Andersonville, it made but little difference whether he remained inside or out, the result was the same. I feel justified

¹⁸ James Wolf, sergeant of Co. H, 89th Reg., Ohio Vol. No. 1. He was captured at Chickamauga on September 20, 1863, and paroled December 11, 1864.

in saying that all was done for him that could have been done under the circumstances. His lot sad as it was, in many respects was far better than that of many a poor fellow who ended his days there, without a friend to bring him even a cup of water. After William became helpless, his clothes were changed and washed every day and Elijah and I took it by turns day and night waiting on him, and all the means that were available were used to make him comfortable, so that in comparison to the sufferings of thousands in the same prison, his were light, yet much greater than if he had been at home, under the kind care of his friends.

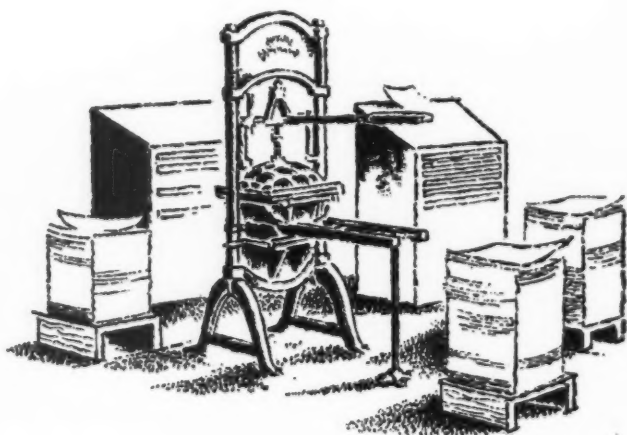
But I will dwell no longer upon this subject. It is by no means a pleasing task to relate the sad story of Williams death. I will not harrow the feelings of his friends by repeating what has already been told. Were there no life hereafter and no prospects of a re-union beyond the grave it would indeed be a matter of deep regret to think of one dying at Andersonville, who was loved so much by his friends. But from the greatness and purity of William's life, there are good grounds for believing, that death was only a transition from that place of misery to one of perfect felicity.

Robert S. Brown

November 15th, 1865.

A Note To Our Readers

WE KNOW ALL OF OUR READERS will look forward with the greatest of pleasure to the forthcoming December issue of *Civil War History*. Edited by Richard B. Harwell, whose articles on continuing manifestations of the Civil War are well known to our readers, the issue is devoted to General Robert E. Lee. It will include a little-known essay by Dr. Douglas Freeman, "The Confederate Tradition of Richmond," an article on the circumstances surrounding Lee's assumption of command of the Army of Northern Virginia in 1862, by Clifford Dowdey, a study of "Stonewall" Jackson, Lee's "right arm," and several other critical interpretations which shed new light on a great general.



Notes & Queries

EDITED BY BOYD B. STUTLER

517 Main Street
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THIS DEPARTMENT IS DESIGNED as an open forum for researchers into Civil War themes and readers of *Civil War History*, for questions on and discussions of phases of the Great Conflict and its personnel. Also, we welcome newly discovered or unrecorded sidelights of the war. Contributions are invited; address Notes and Queries Editor.

QUERIES

No. 36—Was Stonewall Jackson a Mason:

Several unconfirmed stories have come down through the years relative to the Masonic membership of Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson, but actual record of his affiliation with the order is lacking. It is well known that his father, Jonathan Jackson, and several other near relatives were officers or active members of Herman Lodge, A.F. & A.M., at Clarksburg, (W.) Virginia. It is further a matter of record that after the death of Jonathan Jackson in 1826, when the future Confederate General was two years old, his affairs were in such shape that the widow turned to Herman Lodge; the fraternity responded by furnishing a cottage and other material assistance.

Several instances are cited in Civil War memoirs strongly indicating Masonic membership; Simon Wolf in his *Presidents I have Known* says that when he was captured by Confederates while driving a wagon loaded with supplies for prisoners of Banks' Army, he asked to see the commanding officer, General Jackson, to whom he gave the sign of distress. He further asserts that Jackson answered the sign, set him free, and furnished an escort to see him safely to the Union lines. It has been suggested that he was made a Mason in a traveling military lodge, probably

during the period of his service in Mexico, but if so no record of such membership is known to me. Research into the records of lodges near his places of residence after he attained manhood has not uncovered proof of affiliation. As the question stands, evidence of membership in the Craft is purely circumstantial, but as R. M. Needham, Lancaster, Ohio, points out, the same situation is true of Marquis Lafayette, with the added knowledge that he was received as a Mason in good standing as a visitor in certain lodges, documentary proof of which is available.

However, in unpublished sections of letters from Jackson to his sister, Laura Jackson Arnold, there are statements that suggest some very close association with the Masonic order. On August 3, 1853, he mentions a dependent, and some hope of securing help from the lodge at Staunton, Virginia. On November 30, 1853, he again writes his sister that due to unexpected expenses the lodge had not paid the money, and he further observes that he (Jackson) would be in Richmond this winter and intended "to bring her case before the Grand Lodge of the State." Again in a letter dated February 14, 1854, he brings up the subject. It seems likely that he would not have been so interested in a purely lodge matter were he not a member. Again the evidence is purely circumstantial. Query: Was Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson ever a member of the Masonic order, and if so, where and when?

Roy Bird Cook.

No. 37—Confederate Emigration to South Africa:

I am most interested in obtaining any references to migration from the South—particularly ex-Confederates—to South Africa immediately after Appomattox. I vaguely recall having heard about several Confederates who moved their families to the Transvaal, later casting their lot with the Afrikaans in their war for independence. It is possible, of course, that the whole thing is a figment of my imagination, but perhaps some of the readers of *Civil War History* are in position to provide me with some information on this point.

F. R. Dykstra.

No. 38—Use of Grape and Canister:

A favorite way, it seems, of describing a Civil War battle has the combat troops "facing a storm of canister and grape;" or as noted in the March number of this magazine: "Grape and canister scour the ground." For use against troops grape shot with its larger but fewer shots would seem to be relatively less efficient than canister. A 12-pounder would discharge only nine grape shot at a time, when it would throw twenty-seven cast iron shot, each one approximately one and one-eighth inches in diameter, when loaded with canister.

The C.S.A. *Ordnance Manual* (which was copied after the U.S. *Manual*) shows that grape shot was considered to be the siege, not the field, am-

munition and the directions for packing ammunition chests for field artillery make no provision for it. There are instructions for the organization of a siege train which calls for twenty rounds of grape and canister for each 12- or 24-pounder gun, but certainly the Confederates had no siege trains with any of their armies in the field. The Army of the Potomac had a siege train, but it was armed with rifled 4.5-inch Rodmans until it reached the Richmond fortifications. The guns mentioned above would undoubtedly be iron 12- and 24-pounder siege guns, weighing 3,590 and 5,790 pounds respectively, and not 12-pounder Napoleon or 24-pounder howitzer field pieces. What I would like to know is: Was grape shot *ever* used by *field* artillery during the Civil War, and if so, to what extent?

Joseph M. O'Brien.

No. 39—Where are General McDowell's Papers:

Bruce Catton is to write the *Centennial History of the Civil War* for the Doubleday publishing house, and as director of research for the work I have been trying to locate the papers, if any, of General Irvin McDowell. The Library of Congress and other repositories are not able to help. Query: Can any reader tell me where General McDowell's papers, or any considerable lot of them, are held?

E. B. Long.

No. 40—"Trading a Yankee Dime for a Confederate Dollar":

Query: Was "trading a Yankee dime" for a Confederate dollar a popular method of raising funds in the South during or immediately after the Civil War? I have been able to find the meaning of the expression in *A Book About a Thousand Things* by George Stimpson, (Harper, 1946), but have had no luck in determining whether the method and slogan were used while the war was in progress. Can any reader help me? If so, please cite references.

Arnold Gates.

No. 41—More Questions on the Andrews Raid:

Despite all the careful research and the immense body of writings about the Andrews Raid—or the "Great Locomotive Chase" through Georgia in April, 1862—there are still some loose ends that students of the raid and its aftermath would like to have cleared up. Here are a couple of questions:

1. Can any record be supplied of order-of-battle or other reports made by James J. Andrews, leader of the raid, to Union or Confederate authorities during the first full year of the war, ending April 12, 1862?

2. Andrews left a trunk and a black valise at the City Hotel, Nashville, and a supposedly empty lady's trunk at Louisville, later delivered by Martin Hawkins to Elizabeth Layton. At the time of his capture in or near Chattanooga the raid leader's watch, compass and pistols were given up. Also, somewhere on the downward trip from Wartrace, Tennessee, to Marietta, Georgia, by way of Chattanooga, Andrews may have cached

a substantial part of the advance believed to have been made to him in gold coin by General O. M. Mitchel. With due recognition of the probable operation of the principle of finders keepers, particularly of the coin, can a line now be found on the present location of any of these items?

Charles O'Neill.

No. 42—Nordendorf and Ide, Confederate Music Composers:

In connection with my biographical work on Father Abram J. Ryan, poet-priest of the Confederacy, I am in need of information about the following composers:

1. Charles Chaky de Nordendorf, a music composer and publisher who was on the faculty of Danville Female College, Danville, Virginia, at least from 1863 to 1866, inclusive. In 1866, he set the music for one of the song editions of Father Ryan's poem, "The Sword of Robert E. Lee," published by Southern Musical Exchange, Lynchburg, Virginia. He composed and published other pieces of music listed by Richard B. Harwell in his *Confederate Music*. 2. E. Louis Ide, a music teacher in Baltimore, who set Father Ryan's "The Sword of Robert E. Lee" to music in 1867. It was published by George Willig and Co., Baltimore. Does any reader know anything about these composers, Nordendorf and Ide?

Edward A. Egan.

ANSWERS

No. 32—Confederate Dead at Gettysburg:

Mrs. Elmer A. Deiss, Lexington, Kentucky, writes fully in answer to the query of Dr. Fred Landon, London, Ontario, (March, 1957), about disposition of the Confederates killed in the Gettysburg battle. Says Mrs. Deiss:

The first question: "What happened to the Confederate dead at Gettysburg?" is graphically answered by Frank Artess Haskell who, wounded in the battle and unable to be of service temporarily, returned on July 6th to look over the battlefield. He left this description: "All along those bullet-stormed woods were interspersed little patches of fresh earth raised a foot or so above the surrounding ground. Some were very near the front of the works; and nearby upon a tree whose bark had been smoothed by an axe, written in red chalk would be the words, not in fine handwriting, '75 Rebels buried here,' '50 Rebels there,' and so on. Such was the burial and such the epitaph of so many of those famous men once led by the mighty Stonewall Jackson." (Quoted by Miers and Brown in *Gettysburg*, p 290). Haskell was born in Vermont, educated at Dartmouth, and served in the famous Iron Brigade as aide-de-camp to General Gibbons. He was later killed at Cold Harbor.

"Did Lee's Army bury any of its dead before retreating?" Fremantle in his *Three Months in the Southern States*, p 262 (p 209, 1954 edition), reports: "3rd July, (Friday) At 6 A. M. I rode over the field with Colonel

Manning and went over that portion of the ground which, after a fierce contest, had been won from the enemy yesterday evening. The dead were being buried, but great numbers were still lying about." Fremantle accompanied the Confederate Army into the battle. His view of the ground was before Pickett's charge, and of course before the retreat. We are told by writers that because of the great numbers of the dead they were buried "with simple ceremonies and little adornment."

"Was there any systematic burial for those who fell within or near the Federal lines, for example during Pickett's charge?" The fighting was so terrific and the slaughter so great it would have been impossible to bury the dead in any way without a truce. Walter Harrison, A.A. and Inspector General of Pickett's Division, ANV, in his book, *Pickett and His Men*, page 104, answers this question and at the same time gives further answer to the second one: "That 4th of July lowered grimly upon our shattered hopes and broken fortunes. Sad and disheartened we turned our backs upon our unburied dead and mutilated living, uncared for by our hands, but truly mourned in the hearts of the surviving few. Gen. Lee sent more than one flag of truce for the privilege of looking after his dead and wounded lying upon the battlefield, but it was denied him."

"Were the Confederate dead removed from the battlefield for final interment elsewhere?" The National Parks Handbook, Series 9, *Gettysburg*, page 36, gives this brief paragraph on the matter: "The removal of the Confederate dead from the field burial plots was not undertaken until seven years after the battle. During the years 1870-73, upon the initiative of the Ladies Memorial Associations of Richmond, Raleigh, Savannah, and Charleston, 3,320 bodies were disinterred and sent to cemeteries in those cities for reburial, 2,932 being interred in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond. Seventy-three bodies were reburied in home cemeteries." These Memorial Associations were organized soon after the close of the war, but with economic conditions such as they were in the South at that time, raising the necessary funds for the purpose of removal of the bodies was not easy. This caused the long delay in taking the Confederate dead back home." General Lee's attitude and his change of position on the project of disinterring the bodies is told by Dr. Douglas Freeman in his *R. E. Lee*, Vol. 4, page 437.

Others answering the query were Irwin L. Stein, Los Angeles Public Library, who quotes the paragraph from the *Gettysburg* handbook, (above), and Samuel H. Miller, Catonsville, Maryland, who cites authorities quoted above and adds a statistical summary of Confederate losses: The Confederate returns show the following losses: 2,592 killed, 12,709 wounded, 5,150 captured or missing, for a total of 20,451. The Union record shows 12,227 wounded and unwounded captives taken between July 1st and 5th, and General Meade's medical director reported 6,802

Confederate wounded. According to that officer about one-half of Lee's wounded were taken prisoner. If you add the Confederate loss in captured or missing and one-half of the wounded you come close to a total approximating the Union reported total of captured. Of these 6,802 Confederate wounded who were captured, many surely died in or near Gettysburg and were most probably buried somewhere in the neighborhood. Others were shipped away to prison camps and died later.

No. 34—General Lee's Three Stars:

In answer to the query of Robert E. Connor (March, 1957) about General Lee's collar insignia, Van Dyk MacBride, Newark, New Jersey, writes:

Probably no bit of the minutia of the Civil War has produced more inquiries than the three large stars on each side of the collar of the uniform in which General Robert E. Lee is usually pictured. Fully entitled to wear the full general's insignia of three smaller stars surrounded by an ornamental wreath, Lee habitually wore the lesser insignia of a Colonel. This odd fact is being constantly discovered by Civil War students and it has resulted in many inquiries.

For instance—one of the postage stamps issued by the United States bearing Lee's portrait shows both Lee and Stonewall Jackson, part of the Army-Navy commemorative set of 1936-37, and presents Lee in his three-star Colonel's uniform. Promptly a flood of letters resulted: "letters to the editor," to the Post Office Department, to philatelic periodicals, and to historical societies calling attention to this grievous "error." Particularly were some Southerners aroused about this slight to their faultless hero! But, the fact remains that Lee chose to and did wear that uniform and nearly all of his wartime photographs show him thus clad. A check of the portraits in Roy Meredith's fine book, *The Face of Robert E. Lee*, will fully bear out this statement. Even the famous recumbent statue in the chapel of Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Virginia, where he lies buried, shows him in his plain Colonel's uniform—three large stars only, and no braiding on his sleeves.

Why Lee chose to wear a Colonel's uniform is not definitely known. Some have assigned the habit to his modesty and reticence—to his dislike of "showing off" or "pulling rank" on his brother officers and the soldiers. This may well be the reason, or it may be that this more informal attire suited him best as his daily "working" uniform, rather than the stiffer General's coat with its elaborate braiding and other insignia. Regardless of what uniform Lee wore, we will all agree that it clothed a great General and a great man!

No. 35—Questions on the Andrews Raid:

Harry L. Thoman, Jr., Columbus, Ohio, responds to the series of questions posed by Charles O'Neill (March, 1957) with reference to the Andrews raid and raiders, by giving names and addresses of close rela-

tives of John Wollam, one of the raiders who survived the war, but who died, unmarried, at Topeka, Kansas, several years ago.

Other interesting fragments of fact have come in, one outstanding communication from Major Lester N. Fitzhugh, on duty with the 49th Armored at Dallas, Texas. Major Fitzhugh sent a first-hand account by Surgeon S. H. Stout, Confederate hospital director on duty at Chattanooga at the time of the raid. The evidence offered by Surgeon Stout not only confirms the identification of raid leader James J. Andrews' wartime business partner as W. S. Whiteman, powder and paper mill operator at Manchester, Tennessee, at least in early 1862, but quotes Confederate General Danville Leadbetter as telling Stout that one of the raiders—almost surely Pittenger, by the description given: "He wears spectacles, is the most genteel-looking man in the party, (and) says he is a lawyer by profession"—had betrayed the others. Another from Harlan H. Davis, Naperville, Illinois, great-grandson of Andrews' Flemingsburg friend, Judge William Harlan Cord, volunteers the information that Judge Cord had travelled extensively in Europe prior to 1853. Accordingly, the two men could possibly have first met abroad, and the eventual arrival of "Andrews" at Flemingsburg might have been at the suggestion of Judge Cord.

NOTES

The execution of the four conspirators in the plot to assassinate President Lincoln—Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, Lewis Paine, George A. Atzerodt, and David E. Herold—is still a live subject for discussion and debate. But in the great body of writings on the subject, the event is usually treated more seriously than did Jess Leasure, an Iowa soldier, who stood near the scaffold as one of the military guards. Though the hangings took place at Washington on July 7, 1865, Leasure did not record his eyewitness impressions in a letter to his brother until after he had returned to his station at Baltimore. A copy of the letter was given the Mauston (Wisconsin) *Chronicle* for publication, from which it is reprinted:

"Baltimore, Md., July 30, 1865

"Well you wanted a history of the hanging of the conspirators. They were executed inside the old penitentiary. The account given in the papers is as correct as I can give it, except in a few minor details. Our regiment surrounded the scaffold. We were about 20 feet distant, making a complete wall of bayonets through which nothing but the president's pardon could have reached them, and I doubt very much if that would have stopped the hanging, for we had come seven miles to do the job and would not be foiled. Mrs. Surratt is rather fleshy and a very good size, was once handsome. When she came out of prison she looked as though she felt she was to be hung in half an hour, which eventually proved to

be the case. She was assisted on the stage by an officer and a priest. She evidently had not learned her part very well as she performed very poorly.

"Payne was a very powerful man and a regular 'bull dog.' He walked alone on the stage and was apparently as unconcerned as if only going to supper. He was once a soldier and never forgot his training for when he stood up to have the rope adjusted he came to 'attention.' Herold was a little sallow, completely snaky looking individual and very scared. He looked often at the rope and then at the soldiers, but no sign of pity for the wretched criminal, his sentence was just and there were no eyes to shed any tears for any of them. Atzerodt, the German, looked as though he had been eating hot pudding and got choked and was looking for some one to help him out of a bad job. About 1:30 p.m. the drop fell and so did they. Mrs. Surratt and Atzerodt died immediately, Payne died very hard, as did Herold. We left them hang half an hour then cut them down and put them in square rough pine boxes and buried them beside the scaffold, where they will stay. The old penitentiary is to be torn down and the graves obliterated.

"Present my compliments to all enquiring friends and accept the affectionate regards of your brother

JESS

Co. B, 1st Reg. U.S.V.V."

Stern to Write About Civil War Secret Missions:

Philip Van Doren Stern, author of many books and articles on Lincoln and the Civil War, has signed a contract with Rand McNally & Company for a book to be entitled *Secret Missions in the Civil War*. He will draw on the vivid, unforgettable materials in contemporary letters, diaries, articles and personal narratives, both Union and Confederate, and will cover underground operations in Canada, Europe, and on the high seas as well as on the various battlefronts.

Mr. Stern is interested in locating any unpublished manuscript or pictorial material that has any bearing on Civil War secret mission activities. He believes that some of the descendants of the men and women who worked as secret agents during the 1860s may have unpublished letters, diaries, or reminiscences stored away among the family records. He can be reached through his publishers, P. O. Box 7600, Chicago 80, Illinois.

Francis Parkman Prize for 1957:

To stimulate the writing of history as literature, thus emphasizing literary distinction in historical writing, the Society of American Historians has announced that the second annual Francis Parkman Prize, amounting to \$500, will be awarded for a book published within the calendar year 1957. The announcement of award, however, will not be made until some time in 1958. The prize is to be awarded in the field of American history or biography. The Committee of Award is composed of three dis-

tinguished historians: Dr. R. W. G. Vail, Director of the New York Historical Society, *Chairman*; Francis Brown, editor of the *New York Times Sunday Book Review*, and George Dangerfield. The Executive Vice President, to whom communications should be addressed, is Dr. Rudolf A. Clemen, Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

Humor of Our Canadian Cousins:

The Canadian newspapers followed the course of the American Civil War closely, with varying attitudes. After being thrown into a tizzy by the Trent affair, when Mason and Slidell, Confederate commissioners were removed from the British ship, the Chatham (Ontario) *Weekly Planet* fell to evaluating the military movements. "Discovered at last," says a jocular *Planet* paragraph. "The cause of the defeat at Bull Run has at length been accounted for . . . When the battle was at its hottest point, and nearly won by the Northern troops there came word that there were two vacancies in the New York Customs House," and a stampede to apply for the jobs left the field to the Confederates.

Civil War Patriotic Envelopes Revived:

The famous "Patriotics" of Civil War days—envelopes bearing patriotic sketches or slogans—will be revived by the Chicago Philatelic Society when it commemorates its 71st anniversary with an exhibition at the Hamilton Hotel, Chicago, on November 15-17. The covers will honor the memory of Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth, of the famous New York and Chicago Zouaves, who was the first U.S. Army officer to die in the conflict. The subjects of the three covers to be issued will be: A picture of Colonel Ellsworth, the March of the Fire Zouaves, and the Death of Ellsworth, who was shot down while removing a Confederate flag from a hotel building in Alexandria, Virginia.

With the Round Table and Lincoln Groups:

General Joshua W. Sill Chapter, Civil War Round Table, is a newly organized unit with headquarters at Chillicothe, Ohio. Memorial Day was observed by the dedication of a bronze plaque at General Sill's grave in Grandview Cemetery, Chillicothe. General Sill, a native of Chillicothe, graduated from West Point with the class of 1853, and after distinguished Civil War service was killed in the battle of Stone's River, Tennessee, December 31, 1862. His memory and service is commemorated in Fort Sill, Oklahoma—a name selected by General Phil Sheridan . . . Dr. Bell Irvin Wiley was the principal speaker at the May meeting of the Lexington (Kentucky) Civil War Round Table. His subject was "Dear Folks: Home Letters of Johnny Reb and Billy Yank," a subject with which he is thoroughly familiar; he has been reading the mail of Johnny Reb and Billy Yank for years.

At the June meeting of the Lincoln-Civil War Society of Philadelphia, President Ellwood C. Shephard, Vice President Herman Blum, Secretary

Arthur G. McDowell, and Treasurer Russell F. Bush were reelected for another term. Guest speakers were Charles W. Lowry, Jr., a Senior at Princeton University, who discussed the subject of his thesis, "The Religion of Abraham Lincoln," and Thomas O. Warfield, of the New York Civil War Round Table, who spoke on the Gettysburg campaign. Mr. Warfield's talk was illustrated by a set of specially prepared slides, reflecting the movements from day to day. Members of the Society journeyed to Gettysburg and Antietam on a two-day field trip over the June 15-16 weekend. The group had for its mentors Dr. J. Walter Coleman and Harry W. Doust, Superintendents of the Gettysburg and Antietam Parks, respectively. The dinner meeting on Saturday evening at the Gettysburg Hotel was addressed by Harry Fundy, of the Gettysburg Park staff, who spoke on Morgan's Raid in July, 1863.

The Abraham Lincoln Fellowship of West Virginia—a state-wide organization—was founded and incorporated in early May, with present headquarters at Dunbar, a Charleston, West Virginia, suburb. The President is D. L. Salisbury, a life-long Lincoln student and for eighteen years Mayor of Dunbar; T. G. Nutter, Vice President; T. C. Gregory, Secretary, and Louis A. Paterno, Treasurer, Lon G. Marks, legal counsel.

Book Reviews

EDITED BY CHARLES T. MILLER

B-11 University Hall

Iowa City, Iowa

The Coming of the Civil War. By Avery Craven. Second edition, revised. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 491. \$5.00)

THIS VOLUME, FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1942, took its place as a major statement of the "revisionist" explanations of the coming of the American Civil War. The book was reviewed by historians with a mixture of praise and criticism (see, for example, the following reviews by historians: *The New York Times Book Review*, May 24, 1942, p. 3; *The Saturday Review of Literature*, May 30, 1942, p. 5; *The Yale Review*, Winter, 1943, p. 407; *The American Historical Review*, April, 1943, p. 587; *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1942, p. 436; *The Journal of Southern History*, November, 1942, p. 564). One of the reviews led to an exchange of letters in *The American Historical Review* (October, 1943) couched in such angry language as to make the letters unusual even in the realm of controversies between historians concerning the Civil War.

Now, fifteen years after the publication of *The Coming of the Civil War*, this "second edition, revised" has made its appearance and has been chosen as a selection of the Civil War Book Club. The interest of historians in this second edition will probably center around the question of what changes have been made from the earlier edition. Concerning this point, Professor Craven writes that

in the new edition an effort has been made to make some points more clear, and the entire text has been proofread—a task which was prevented in the first edition by the absence of the author on a government project.

The changes in the second edition which this reviewer has found are few in number and, with two possible exceptions which will be discussed below, do not constitute major shifts in interpretation. The two editions are similar

enough so that their pagination is the same, except for the addition of a "Preface to the Second Edition" which is a little over one page in length (and which does not change the pagination of the text); no changes seem to have been made in the thirty-eight pages of notes, and, of the 440 pages of text, changes have been made on only ten pages. Most of the changes made in these ten pages of text involve only a few words and seem designed to correct statements of fact or to make relatively minor changes in wording.

The two passages in the second edition where changes have been made which might possibly be interpreted as a shift in point of view (the question is debatable) are worth quoting here because, whether or not they signify a changed point of view, they provide a summary statement in Mr. Craven's words of his conclusions on two important questions: the institution of slavery and the coming of the Civil War. The institution of slavery is described in the fourth chapter of both the 1942 and the 1957 editions. The chapter in the earlier edition is concluded with a nineteen-line summary which begins with this sentence:

It is thus perfectly clear that slavery played a rather minor part in the life of the South and of the Negro.

The chapter on slavery in the 1957 edition ends with a twenty-six-line summary in which the above sentence becomes:

It is thus perfectly clear that slavery did not work alone in changing the life of the South and of the Negro.

The summary in the 1942 edition ends with this two-sentence paragraph:

The patient Negro, meanwhile, went on with his tasks generally unconscious of the merits or the lack of them in the system under which he toiled. The weather and the fields brought enough trouble without his borrowing more.

In the 1957 edition, the above two sentences are omitted and the summary ends with the following three-sentence paragraph:

But if slavery was somewhat less important in the life of the Negro and the South as a whole, the idea of holding men in bondage and buying and selling them as property was one that was sadly out of line with the democratic and Christian ideal of the modern world. The fact that it could be as bad as was possible where the worst white man could own the best Negro cancelled all that its defenders could say in its defense. It was a poor foundation on which to erect a civilization.

Mr. Craven's explanation of the coming of the Civil War is summarized in the 1942 edition in these words:

Stripped of false assumptions, the tragedy of the nation in bloody strife from 1861 to 1865 must, in large part, be charged to a generation of well-meaning Americans, who, busy with the task of getting ahead, permitted their short-sighted politicians, their over-zealous editors, and their pious reformers to emotionalize real and potential differences and to conjure up

distorted impressions of those who dwelt in other parts of the nation. For more than two decades, these molders of public opinion steadily created the fiction of two distinct peoples contending for the right to preserve and expand their sacred cultures. They imagined a Slave Power bent on spreading tyranny to all parts of the nation; a Black Republicanism equally determined to free the slaves and to precipitate a race war. They turned the normal American conflicts between agriculture and industry, farmers and planters, section and section, into a struggle of civilizations. They exalted a faltering and decadent labor system, on the one hand, into the cornerstone of a perfect society, and, on the other, into an aggressive, expanding evil about to destroy the white man's heritage and to ruin God's experiment in Democracy. They awakened new fears and led men to hate. In time a people came to believe that social security, constitutional government and the freedom of all men were at stake in their sectional differences; that the issues were between right and wrong; good and evil. Opponents became devils in human form. Good men had no choice but to kill and to be killed.

In the 1957 edition, the above passage has been changed to read as follows:

The problems arising from the rapid growth and expansion of the nation ultimately got into such shape that they could not be solved by discussion, tolerance, and compromise. Where sections differed in interests, social patterns, and even in moral values, and all looked to a common central government for legislation, conflict was inevitable. It was not easy to satisfy industrial and agricultural areas on the tariff or to please old and new regions on lands and internal improvements. It was next to impossible to reach satisfactory agreement on territories where conflicting social-economic systems would gain or lose strength through expansion.

The most serious difficulty came over slavery, which, by the 1820's, had become localized to the South and which had gained a new hold with the spread of cotton. As a purely social or moral question to be faced and dealt with as such, slavery might not have proved a national tragedy. As a sectional issue linked to sectional rivalry and territorial expansion, it produced an "irrepressible conflict."

How this happened is not entirely clear. We only know that the sectional rivalry in the nation turned into a struggle between North and South and that slavery became the symbol of all the differences between them. And, more important, slavery became the symbol of a conflict between "civilizations," between progress and backwardness, between right and wrong. Men ceased to reason, to tolerate, to accept compromise. Good men then had no choice but to kill and to be killed.

With the exception of the passages quoted above, the second edition of *The Coming of the Civil War* differs little from the first edition, and historians will find in the second edition the now-familiar "revisionist" interpretations of the events preceding the break up of the Union.

It should be interesting to see whether the reactions of historians to the book in 1957 will be different from those expressed in 1942 and 1943. Mr. Craven

suggests that there has been a decided shift in the attitudes of historians toward the Civil War in the fifteen years separating the two editions of his book. When the volume was originally published, he writes, its approach

was somewhat new and . . . was not widely understood. . . . Yet the writing of Civil War history has changed profoundly since the book appeared, and most scholars have accepted the general point of view that it suggests.

The statement that most scholars have now accepted the general point of view suggested in *The Coming of the Civil War* might lead one to expect that this consensus would be reflected in the reviews of this second edition. The statement might even lead one to expect a cessation, or at the least a diminution, of of acidly-worded controversies among historians concerning the Civil War—controversies which seem at times to approximate the acrimony and the personal bitterness of the arguments of the 1850's and 1860's, and which might indicate that historians have inadvertently become almost too successful in recapturing and recreating the spirit of the Civil War era. One might be led to expect these things, but not to believe them until they happen.

THOMAS J. PRESSLY

Seattle, Washington.

Sherman's March through the Carolinas. By John G. Barrett. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. x, 325. \$6.00.)

THE MATERIALS AVAILABLE FOR THIS BOOK posed a difficult problem of organization to the author. What is the most effective method of recording the slow progress of a large army across four hundred miles of enemy territory, a march which was seldom interrupted by organized resistance but one in which participants and victims witnessed thousands of similar incidents of destruction? Are the ends of history best served by fixing the reader's attention upon the journey mile by mile and town by town, accepting the inevitable possibility that even fires and theft, humor and tragedy can lose reading appeal through abundance and repetition?

The author assumed the risks inherent in this approach, and his method has some advantages, in spite of this critic's opinion that a different kind of organization, involving a more selective screening of events and closer attention to narrative values, would have captured the impact of this historical operation more effectively. The narrative appeal of the chapter on the Battle of Bentonville, and of certain portions of following chapters, illustrates the point. The principal advantage of the work as written is that it becomes a storehouse of materials which offers future researchers a documented record of every fur-
long of the march.

In view of the angry reaction to Sherman's strategy of war against a civilian population, Barrett's study is commendable for its objectivity. Such passion as we find here is carefully attributed to witnesses. The study also reveals the operational tactic and the effectiveness of one example of total war, although a more complete analysis of the concept of total war, including Sherman's contribution to the evolution of the tactic, would have strengthened the work as a contribution to military history.

The colorful incidents in this record of the march include such diverse materials as the unauthorized exploits of the "bummers," whose foraging and stealing were not soon forgotten in the South; the process of "corduroying" the marshy roads with logs; the sedate courtship of Yankee General Atkins with a Southern belle; the adventures of the amorous General known as "Little Kil," whose escape from the bed of his mistress was so precipitous that the Confederate surprise attack was known as "Kilpatrick's Shirt-Tail Skedaddle"; incidents illustrative of Sherman's humanitarian sentiments interspersed with his defense of pillaging and burning civilian property; and Sherman's endeavors in late April, 1865 to include friendly political considerations in the terms of surrender offered to General Johnston, a proposal which brought forth charges from the North that Sherman was either insane or disloyal.

In certain places, the style of this book is awkward or overstrained. One readily admits that such a sensational event as the burning of a city poses a difficult challenge to the recorder, but such passages as the following (p. 81) leave much to be desired:

Thereafter, periodic word came from Logan and Woods that the maximum effort was being exerted to curb the blazes. But man in this instance was no match for nature. The high winds were turning Columbia into a raging inferno. Around eleven o'clock, with the entire heavens lurid from the glow of dancing flames, Sherman went out himself to aid in stemming the conflagration.

In spite of stylistic lapses, the chapter on the burning of Columbia is one of the best in this study.

The treatments of Sherman's character, particularly the passages dealing with his prewar sympathy for the South and his forthright defense of his military strategy, offer helpful supplements to the events which occurred on the march. The complete bibliography and index will contribute to the volume's usefulness.

WILLIAM P. FIDLER

Washington, D.C.

General George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union. By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 350. \$6.00.)

GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN, AS SEEN BY WARREN HASSLER, was a high-minded, capable military leader who fought hard and well for the American Union, made few mistakes in the field, and was the victim not of slowness or lack of fight, but of political intrigue in Washington.

This is a fairly generous estimate of Little Mac, but Mr. Hassler backs it up by a detailed, thoroughly researched analysis of his military operations. He depicts McClellan before Richmond as the victim of a misguided administration in Washington which progressively weakens the troop strength of the Army of the Potomac, yet even so battling Lee on even terms and dealing out more punishment than his own army absorbs. He shows him as savior of the

Union at Antietam, rallying a disorganized Union army after Second Manassas to smash Lee's invasion of Maryland. Like Bruce Catton and James G. Randall, he sees Antietam as the high tide of the Confederacy, and McClellan's victory there as the act that made it impossible for the Confederacy to win the war.

Strategically, Mr. Hassler's McClellan also shines. His Peninsula invasion enabled him to place his army close to Richmond in 1862, with a minimum of casualties, when two years later it would take Grant a full summer of costly and bloody fighting to reach exactly the same spot. His idea of attacking Richmond from the South proved to be the only way to take the Confederate capital, and had Lincoln permitted it, might have won the war many months earlier.

Mr. Hassler also points out that McClellan battled Lee when the Army of Northern Virginia was at its peak, when Confederate strength was highest, and when Confederate command was at its best. He notes, too, that as both Grant and Swinton have said, McClellan was a victim of the country's newness to war, and he had everything to do at the outset. As Grant himself declared, if McClellan "had gone into the war as Sherman, Thomas or Meade, had fought his way along and up, I have no reason to suppose that he would not have won as high distinction as any of us."

So that Mr. Hassler's McClellan hardly shows up as the man of whom Lincoln said that he "has got the slows" and who has been held up to students of the Civil War for almost a century as a man who could organize well but was too timid to fight. Rather, McClellan is seen as a first class fighting man, who lost out to political intrigue by unscrupulous Radical Republicans who felt that the Union general did not show the proper zeal for radical goals. False charges against his loyalty and the desire to find a scapegoat for Northern failure to destroy Lee's army, caused McClellan's downfall, Mr. Hassler contends.

The author has done his job well. His case is well argued and his evidence exhaustive, and his book should prove a considerable stumbling block for future critics who would irresponsibly dismiss McClellan as an incompetent commander who could organize but not fight.

Yet it cannot be said that Mr. Hassler has exonerated McClellan. For after all the evidence is in, and all is said that can be said for McClellan (which is a great deal), certain failures remain unexplained. Though Mr. Hassler has done his best, he has not been able to refute the following charges:

1. that despite possession of the advantage of maneuver, McClellan let Lee attack him during the Seven Days, and was forced to loosen his hold on Richmond by an army smaller than his own;
2. that McClellan consistently and grossly exaggerated the strength of his enemy, thus proving himself unable to evaluate intelligence reports and sources;
3. that though he did not deliberately delay reinforcing General Pope before Second Manassas, he did not at any rate overly extend himself in getting his troops moving toward Aquia and then to the battlefield, at a time when success or failure manifestly depended on his swiftness;

4. that he did not attack Lee promptly at Antietam while the Confederates were still dispersed, and that when he did attack, it was by corps rather than with his entire army.

To this reviewer's mind at any rate, and despite his own admiration for McClellan, it seems that Mr. Hassler has been too ardent an advocate of Little Mac, and that in his zeal for giving a good soldier his due, he has attempted to explain away McClellan's shortcomings. This simply cannot be done, not even by this able historian.

This is Mr. Hassler's first book. It is a very good job. Henceforth, anyone writing about the War in the East will have to deal with his arguments, and for those who would deny the value of McClellan's contributions to the defense of the Union, it will be what Malvern Hill was to Lee on July 1, 1862—close to an insurmountable obstacle. The truth lies somewhere between Mr. Hassler's position and that of anti-McClellanites such as Kenneth P. Williams and other Grant men. One suspects it is considerably closer to Mr. Hassler's side than to the other. Meanwhile, it will be interesting to see what this promising young military historian does next.

LOUIS D. RUBIN, JR.

Hollins College, Virginia.

The Man Who Elected Lincoln. By Jay Monaghan. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1956. Pp. xii, 334. \$4.50.)

DR. CHARLES HENRY RAY was editor and part owner of the *Chicago Tribune* from 1855 to 1863. So skillfully has Jay Monaghan written of Ray's editorial influence and behind-the-scenes activities that one does not feel, after reading this book, that the title is as extravagant as at first it seems. Too little attention has been paid to Dr. Ray, who was the paper's editor-in-chief during the years of his association with it. Jay Monaghan has done an excellent job of setting the record straight.

This is not primarily biography but history. A very small part of the book deals with Ray's personal life. It is his career as a newspaperman, the influence he exerted for the Republican Party, his efforts for the nomination and election of Abraham Lincoln, and his continuous zeal for the abolition of slavery that are the concerns of this volume.

Originally a medical doctor, Ray had an ambition "to do more than just live well." And with a crusader's zeal the position of editor gave him a chance to express himself and the opportunity to try to mold public opinion. Thinking that Galena was destined to be the metropolis of Illinois, Ray had purchased the *Jeffersonian* and by the summer of 1852 he had made the paper "a power in northwestern Illinois and established himself as a man of importance."

Ray was a Democrat, but his break with the Party and with Douglas came with the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He followed the progress of the bill intently and on the passage of the act in 1854 determined he must move to a larger city "to take part in the political revolution now sure to break across the nation." And so after selling his Galena paper, Ray and Joseph Medill got control of the *Chicago Tribune*.

Now began his role of "king-maker." Ray was soon aware of Lincoln's potentialities, and the name of Lincoln was kept before the people. Lincoln for Senator and then Lincoln for President were the goals of the *Tribune*. Exciting, indeed, are the chapters, "Kansas, 1856" and "Lincoln's Lost Speech." Ray played an important part in behind-the-scenes activities of the convention in 1860 that nominated Abraham Lincoln. Excerpts from Ray's editorials are numerous and well chosen, and reveal the ardent support which the editor gave the railsplitter candidate. Surely no other newspaper supported Lincoln's candidacy with greater enthusiasm. After the election Ray set up an office in Springfield in an attempt to get the president-elect to choose a cabinet acceptable to the *Tribune*. Two chapters, "Stand Firm: The Tug Has to Come" and "The Cameron Business Has Been Arrested," show the forces that were at work upon Lincoln by the bickering factions of the Party.

The sudden death of Stephen A. Douglas was reported in the *Tribune* on June 4, 1861 with a three-column eulogy. The part quoted by Monaghan should be included here:

It is well known that the *Chicago Tribune* had no sympathy with the political movements of the late Senator since 1853. He was content to go his way, and we ours. He had one line of policy, and we another. In all these years of difference, we have shared with others the animosity that our prejudice and his acts provided. . . . We draw a veil over that distracted period, and leave the historian to decide whether he and his friends, or his opposers, ourselves among the number, are right. We have nothing to apologize for . . . and he would have had nothing to unsay had he lived. . . . His last public speech is the standard by which his life is to be measured. We remember him by that, and lay down therefore this tribute of gratitude and praise.

With Lincoln's conduct of the war Ray was not in entire sympathy. He was one of those who demanded the abolition of slavery. When that finally came with the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, Ray felt, almost, that his work was finished. And after his wife died in the summer of 1863 his own health showed signs of failing. Then, because of strained relations with Medill, he resigned the editorship of the *Tribune* and sold his stock in the paper. So far as this book is concerned that is the end of *The Man Who Elected Lincoln*. And within a few years Charles Henry Ray was dead.

This is a book about which to wax enthusiastic because it exudes enthusiasm and excitement. The history of the times so lives in its pages that one almost forgets that much of the action occurred a century and more ago. Perhaps it is slightly partisan; but it is highly readable. No one lives in a period of history in a state of utter neutrality. So expertly has Jay Monaghan written that one lives through this period in the person of Charles Ray. The chapter on Lincoln's nomination in 1860 is a masterpiece. Read it and slip back into the raucous, boisterous city of Chicago and actually attend the convention.

If text books could be like this no student would ever be bored with history. But of course they cannot be, and school histories will have to be written without emotion or bias. This, however, is a book for adults who want to get the thrill of actually going back into the past, and to get the feel of the times as the people then living experienced them. It is rare writing, indeed, that can transport the reader out of the "atomic age" and the "cold war" into the living past.

S. AMBROSE WETHERBEE

Springfield, Illinois.

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